



Daily Report

East Europe

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Gorbachev Responds to Alia on SFRY

AU1708153491 Tirana ATA in English 0953 GMT
17 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—These days, Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic, received the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR in Albania, Viktor Nerubaillo, who transmitted to him Mikhail Gorbachev's answer regarding the letter of July 8, 1991 about the situation in Yugoslavia and the dangers threatening Kosovo.

The answer says: "I attentively got acquainted with your message regarding the situation in Yugoslavia and around it. I share in the worry expressed in it about the dramatic development of the events in this country following the unilateral proclamation of independence by Slovenia and Croatia.

It is understandable that the destiny of the SFRY and of all the peoples residing there are not insignificant for us. We uphold that this is also a preoccupation of the other European states and, first of all, of those belonging to that region. It is clear that Yugoslavia's disintegration, which would be associated with inevitable threats for fresh bitter and broader conflicts, would bring about incalculable misfortunes to the peoples of the SFRY, as well as creating a serious danger for stability in the Balkans."

Further on the answer says: "The harmonisation of the relations among the peoples of Yugoslavia unconditionally and on a new basis has become imperative. But, they alone can attain this through tolerant negotiations, mutual consensus and compromises. The Soviet Union is for the firm and strict application of the norms of the international law, the Helsinki Final Act, the Paris Charter for a new Europe."

Britain's Major Replies

AU1808140091 Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT
18 Aug 91

[Letter from British Prime Minister John Major to President Ramiz Alia; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—Honourable Mr. President,

Thank you for your letter of July 8 about the situation in Yugoslavia.

The British Government, sharing the same opinion with its European Community partners, has continuously voiced itself that the problem of Yugoslavia cannot be solved through the use of arms. We have denounced the use of force to suppress and intimidate the democratically elected governments of Slovenia and Croatia. Likewise, we have often denounced the all-round violation of the civil rights of the Albanians of Kosovo by the Serb Government and have demanded from the Serb and the

Yugoslav federal authorities to adhere to their obligations emerging from the CSCE. Just as you point out, the situation in Kosovo remains tense. The use of violence there serves no good purpose and [word indistinct] will demand all the parties to exert maximum pressure.

Reports of Military Agreement With Italy Denied

AU1808185191 Tirana Radio Tirana Network Albanian
1800 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Defense Ministry Statement issued on 18 August]

[Text] Some of our newspapers today carried a report taken from the Italian press, mentioning a military and naval agreement between Albania and Italy. We want to explain to the public that as has recently been reported, talks have indeed been held with a group of Italian experts. These dealt mainly with a program of joint measures that must be taken for the transportation and earliest possible distribution of aid that the Italian Government has granted to our country. The reports relate to an view of the Italian side, which has not been confirmed by our side. In particular, we stress that the talks did not mention a military agreement, but concerned technical assistance for the transportation of food aid and medicine.

Interior Minister, Democratic Party Head on Refugees

AU1608181591 Tirana ATA in English 1727 GMT
16 Aug 91

[Text] Tirana, August 16 (ATA) — The Italian news agency, ANSA, reports that the Italian Interior Ministry decided to distribute the Albanian refugees who remained in Bari in the Italian territory. The Minister of the Interior Vincenzo Scotti underscored in course of a briefing with the journalists: "We have to do with a temporary decision, their position will be examined by the functionaries of the political refugees, which will start work on August 20." "[Words indistinct] mission for granting the status of [words indistinct] They who will not be able to fulfill the conditions foreseen by Martelli law, will leave", Scotti pointed out.

ANSA reports that the operation to distribute the Albanian refugees in the Italian territory is going on. According to a questionnaire made by the Italian newspaper LA REPUBBLICA the majority of the Italians thinks that the decision for sending back the Albanians to their country "is bitter, but a right decision".

In a meeting conducted in Tirana with some Italian journalists, the Albanian Minister of the Interior Bajram Yzeiri said that the actual political situation of Albania does not justify the demands or granting of political asylum. Commenting on Italy's decision for not repatriating hundreds of refugees, (amongst them) many soldiers, the minister of the interior said that the Albanian Government is waiting to get accurately acquainted with the problem. Yzeiri pointed out that this new

situation "does not create any problem for the relations between Italy and Albania, which are really very good. We appreciate the fact, he added, that Italy is the country which is standing closer to the Albanian people and government and which is making sacrifices for us. We are sorry for the problems we have created to the Italian [word indistinct], people and police."

The interior minister pointed out that (?the main) reason for this dramatic exodus is the economic crisis and of lack of confidence. Yzeiri said that "we do not possess any concrete proof" (?to) prove that there were "forces who manipulated thousands of people to hinder the process of democratisation".

Behind the recent rush of the Albanian refugees [words indistinct] the long hand" of the old communists, therefore it will be good for Italy to turn them back. This is the opinion of the chairman of the Albanian Democratic Party, Sali Berisha, expressed in an interview to the Austrian cultural weekly DIE FURCHE.

Granting asylum to the refugees solves nothing. "Italy," Berisha said, "should return my compatriots even if it has to resort to force. We should come out of this misery by ourselves".

Kapllani Arrives in Tel Aviv, Meets Levi

*AU1808191591 Tirana ATA in English 1807 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 18 (ATA)—On August 18, the minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, arrived on an official visit to Israel at the invitation of the deputy premier and foreign minister of Israel, David Levi.

Present to receive the Albanian foreign minister at the International Airport of Tel Aviv "Ben Gurion" were the deputy premier and foreign minister of Israel David Levi and other senior officials of the Israeli Foreign Ministry.

Kapllani Meets Vatican Foreign Minister Torran

*AU1808191391 Tirana ATA in English 1803 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 18 (ATA)—On August 18, 1991, on his way to Tel Aviv, the Albanian minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, met at the Holy See with the minister of foreign affairs of the Vatican, Mr. Jean Louis Torran [name as received]. In this meeting, the Albanian minister spoke of the political, economic, and, social situation in Albania today, particularly dwelling upon the economic crisis, which affects all the aspects of the Albanian life.

On this occasion, Muhamet Kapllani underlined the importance of improving the economic situation through the cooperation and aid of the European countries and the manifestation of a greater human solidarity towards the Albanian people at these moments; the Albanian visitor thanked for the pope's support

addressed to the Albanian people and his appeal addressed to the countries and peoples of Europe to support the Albanian people. The foreign minister of the Vatican, Jean Louis Torran, assessed the democratic transformations in Albania and said that it is important that they be associated with great changes in the economic and social life and that the proud Albanian people enhance their feeling of confidence that their future is in Albania. Torran hailed Albania's membership of the CSCE and the fact that it is a part of the European family of the nations.

The two ministers assessed the fact that the establishment of the diplomatic relations between Albania and the Holy See will be soon declared.

Kosovo Assembly Delegation Meets Leaders

Alia Meets Delegation

*AU1808135591 Tirana ATA in English 0818 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—On August 17, Ramiz Alia, president of the Republic of Albania, received at the Palace of Brigades the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, headed by its deputy chairman, Iljaz Ramajli.

President Ramiz Alia pointed to the great concern of the people, government and pluralistic parliament of the Republic of Albania about the Kosovar problem, as an all national question. The Albanian people, he said, live with the efforts of the Kosovar brothers, support the just noble struggle of the people of Kosovo and follow with concern the current dangerous situation in Yugoslavia and especially the planning of a new massacre by the Serbs in Kosovo.

Iljaz Ramajli conveyed to President Ramiz Alia the greetings of the delegates of the assembly of the Republic of Kosovo for his personal interest and engagement in making the problem of Kosovo an international question. Underlining that your support has not been lacking even earlier, he said that the great step made for the democratization of the life in Albania is a powerful support for us. In this context he assessed as a great contribution the letter President Ramiz Alia has sent to the heads of the UN Security Council and CSCE member-states and the resolution of the Albanian Parliament for the defence of the rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia.

Then, the deputy chairman of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, Iljaz Ramajli, made an expose of the current situation in Kosovo and of the objectives of the Kosovar issue. We, he said, want to solve our issue through political negotiations and peaceful means, so as to avoid a bloodshed of great proportions. Actually we are engaged in forming a temporary multiparty government, which, we believe, in the new conditions will create possibilities also for the development of the referendum for the status of the Albanian nation in Yugoslavia.

In the meeting, views were exchanged on the Kosovar problem in the context of the developments in Yugoslavia, on the options stemming from them and the difficulties emerging on the road of their realization.

President Ramiz Alia underlined that the international opinion must understand better that the problem of Kosovo is above all a question of national rights. It cannot be reduced only to the framework of defending the human rights. The president assessed the correct actions of our Kosovar brothers and their efforts to form the government in Kosovo, which will be effective to the people and of importance on the international aspect. He said that such dangerous situations require tranquility and maturity and the provocations be coped with wisdom, which means that the people should not be passive. Then he acquainted them with the democratic transformations carried out in Albania, with the economic, political and social difficulties our country is undergoing and the measures being taken to carry forward the democratic processes.

The reception passed in a fraternal atmosphere.

Bufi Receives Delegation

*AU1808135891 Tirana ATA in English 0825 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Ylli Bufi, received at the seat of the premier's office the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo, headed by the vice-chairman of this assembly, Iljaz Ramajli, on August 17.

The Premier Ylli Bufi bid welcome to Albania and his joy to meet with the representatives of the assembly of the Republic of Kosovo. He laid the stress on the importance the direct contacts with the senior officials of the brother-like people of Kosovo have in serving our national cause.

Our government, he said, follows attentively the developments in Yugoslavia and particularly those in Kosovo, it condemns the policy of militarization of Kosovo on the part of Serbia, the savage police violence exercised towards the Albanian people and always has supported the peaceful solution and through democratic ways to the cause of the Albanian population in Kosovo and its territories in Yugoslavia. In its policy our government has always given priority to Kosovo's support that it be an independent republic, as the third population in the Yugoslav federation. We, he said, will intensify the activities to make sensible the international public opinion on the Albanian question of Kosovo, as in the CSCE and in other international organisms. Premier Ylli Bufi underscored the indispensability of a all-national cooperation in the future, the coordination of the work for various questions and problems.

Ylli Bufi said that he fully agreed with him that in the international activities we must bear in mind the defence of the right cause of Kosovo and of the Albanian

population living on their territories in Yugoslavia. Our stand has been and is that there can be no solution to the Yugoslav crisis without the correct solution to the problem of the Albanians in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia.

On his part, Iljaz Ramajli stressed that during his recent stay in Albania, in the meetings and visits, we have found the full support for the solution of the Kosovar question. He spoke of the repression and the severe police measures by Serbia to suppress the Albanian population in Yugoslavia and pointed to the same stand of the political parties in Kosovo in defense of the rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia.

Iljaz Ramajli assessed the support and back up of various organisms in Albania, from the parliament, the government and particularly the letter the president of the Republic of Albania, Ramiz Alia has sent to the heads of UN Security Council and CSCE member-states in defense of the rights of the Albanian people in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia. He spoke also of Slovenia's and Croatia's stand toward Kosovo's issue.

Kapllani Receives Delegation

*AU1708162191 Tirana ATA in English 0942 GMT
17 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, received the delegation of the assembly of the Republic of Kosovo headed by its Vice-Chairman Iljaz Ramajli on August 16. In the meeting they spoke of the intensification of the measures of violence by the big Serbs in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians, the solution in a peaceful and democratic way of the Albanian question.

After assessing the importance of the visit of the Kosovar delegation to Albania, the Minister Muhamet Kapllani stressed that through concerted efforts of the Albanian people in Albania, in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia, they will win the rights belonging to them, unjustly deprived by history.

In this end of the century the greater the chances, the greater the challenges. The situation created demands bravery, wisdom and maturity; not to fall in the trap of the provocations of the enemies who have never wished well to us. Further on Muhamet Kapllani voiced the commitment, the sense of responsibility of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to consider the issue of the Albanians in Yugoslavia as a fundamental one. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania availing itself of its membership in the CSCE will do its utmost for the all-national cause. We have shed much blood, now we should strive for the national solution. We will not be naive and will lay the emphasis on the peaceful road offered by the actual European developments.

Muhamet Bicaj pointed out that the cultural field is that field which kept and will keep alive the Albanian spiritual constitution.

At the meeting they talked also of the possibilities of spiritual and cultural cooperation, which, as it was put, might be realised before the political unification, in order to get better acquainted with the literature and other creativeness in Albania and Kosovo, between the University of Tirana and that of Pristina, of a more fruitful work of the senior Albanian scientific personalities etc., who influence on the institutionalisation and the correct solution of the Albanian question in Kosovo and on their territories in Yugoslavia.

Likewise the delegation of the Assembly of Kosovo, headed by the vice-chairman of this Assembly Iliaz Ramajli was received also by the vice-chairman of the Academy of Sciences, Prof. Hekuran Mara. He spoke of the studies and publications of the institutions of this academy for Kosovo and the Albanian problem in Yugoslavia, etc., which throw light on the autochthony of the Albanian people, their ancient and modern culture.

They laid the emphasis on the wish to establish direct links and cooperation between the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Albania and the Academy of Arts and Sciences of Kosovo, the exchange of publications in various fields etc.

Likewise, on August 16, the delegation of the Assembly of the Republic of Kosovo paid a visit to the National Historic Museum of the capital and to the museum of the national hero "Gjergj Kastriot - Scanderbeg" in Kruja.

Peoples Assembly Discusses Refugees, Order Situation

*AU1708155991 Tirana ATA in English 0759 GMT
17 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—In the short plenary sitting of August 16 before noon of the People's Assembly, the chairman of the Presidency Kastriot Islami, after consultation with the presidencies of the parliamentary groups, proposed that at the afternoon sitting, where members of the government were going to take part, the proceedings of the first session of the People's Assembly be closed.

In the name of their parliamentary groups, the Deputies Neritan Ceka, Namik Dokle and Thoma Mico spoke. They approved this proposal.

In the afternoon, after the meeting of parliamentary groups, the plenary session opened. Speaking of the economic, political and social situation in the country, the Premier Ylli Bufi described it as complex and rather tense. He defined as a main factor for this the recent exodus which, the premier underlined, influences in the destabilization of the country, the confrontation of political forces with each other and the people with police, it damages the cooperation of Albania with the European

countries, especially with Italy and lowers the credibility of the government. In this regard, he stated that the last refugees already in Italy, will come back to Albania in order to bar the way to repetition of such phenomena in the future. Then the premier spoke extensively of the preoccupation of the government for the consolidation of the public order, the measures adopted and to be adopted so that the forces of order and organs of justice strictly apply the laws. Further on he concentrated on the organizational work to apply the law on the land, measures for the beginning of the new school year by the end of September, etc.

Speaking of the very important problem of the people's supply, Ylli Bufi stressed that food is secured for the 3 coming months in a higher quota than at present and with a supply plan of about 1000 tons a day only from Italy. Concerning the economic reform, he said it will be based on the liberalization of the prices and wages, the privatization in the country and liberalization of the economic management of the state enterprises. Basis for their realisation will be the instigation of foreign investments in Albania, he said. He spoke also of the law of social assistance, the reorganization of state apparatuses, as an important measure for the application of the economic reform, etc.

Then, representatives of the parliamentary groups took the floor. The Deputy Thoma Mico of Omonia said among others that this parliamentary group, although it was not given the change to be represented in the government of the country's stability, has supported and will support the activity of this government. After speaking of the numerous negative consequences exodus brought about for the neighbouring countries, he said that one of the ways to refrain this phenomenon is also the organization of the economic emigration in other countries. He laid the stress in his contribution to the better organization of education of minority people in the mother tongue, extension of the school network, full number of the pedagogical staff etc., in order to realise fully in practice the right of the minority to get education in the Greek mother tongue.

The chairman of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party, the Deputy Neritan Ceka valued the proceedings of this session as successful although held in a climate of failures and insecurity as well. After mentioning the importance of the laws this pluralistic assembly adopted, the creation of the government of the country's stability, he emphasised the indispensability that all the political forces should aid and support the government as the first step for the construction of a genuine democratic society. After speaking of the reasons of the painful exodus, which serves the forces who want the destruction of Albania, he concentrated on the indispensable need of drafting a law of social assistance according to which negative effects be shouldered by all the people and not only by those who will remain jobless. He raised as a very urgent and important problem for the deputies the question of the people's bread and the late crops in the lands, he attracted the attention that acts of

vandalism organized in the town and countryside should be avoided, criminality as well and the abusers of people's property should be brought to court, higher efficiency of the pluralistic power organs in the districts, the completion of the law on amnesty, creation of optimal conditions for the pupils and students to attend school, strict discipline in the Army, etc.

After pointing out the achievements of this session of the first pluralistic assembly, the vice chairman of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party (SP), Namik Dokle spoke more on the law on social assistance. He mentioned the stand of the deputies of the SP that all the unemployed over 18 years profit from this law. While compiling the law, he said, the government should draw the opinion of the trade unions. He treated of other problems worrying the people such as the restoration of the public order and tranquillity, the quick solution on the part of the executive organs of the problems of the people raised by the deputies, further extension of social assistance in the village, etc. He promised for a greater commitment of the deputies of the SP to support the government of the country's stability and the grass root pluralistic power organs.

Treating the problem of exodus and in general the indispensability of the all sided emancipation of the Albanian nation, the Deputy Ajli Alushani proposed an activity of high level of the Albanian diaspora, that has distinguished personalities in its fold. For this, he said an organizing commission should be set up. The deputy Sali Berisha approved this proposal. He treated of also some other problems such as creation of a parliamentary commission to investigate and study the phenomenon of exodus in complex, the support by the state in setting up religious institutions, reorganization of the agricultural. [sentence as received]

Islami Addresses Peoples Assembly

AU1708160991 Tirana ATA in English 0821
GMT 17 Aug 91

[Report on speech by Peoples Assembly Presidency Chairman Kastriot Islami to the Peoples Assembly in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] Tirana, August 17 (ATA)—The first Albanian pluralist parliament, which will remain historic and at the same time constitutes also an emotional element for each deputy, conducted its proceedings in a four month period. I think that someone's wish to have a professional parliament was almost fully realised. Although 90 per cent of the deputies of this parliament are elected for the first time, the presidency is of the opinion that the willingness and commitment of the deputies have been maximal.

In general, he said, taking into consideration the little pluralist parliamentary experience, the completion on the plane of juridical culture of the deputies and specialists of the People's Assembly, we may say that the work

of the Assembly has been efficient and fruitful. Alongside many major problems and worries that have been discussed and the passing of decrees, in this first session of this legislature, 21 laws have been examined, discussed and passed, out of which 9 have been published in the Official Gazette No. 4 of 1991. Among the most important laws that have to do with the construction of our legal state, we may mention that "on the main constitutional provisions", "on the departisation and depoliticisation of some state organs", "on the setting up of the national intelligence service", "on the status of the militaryman of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Albania", "on the maintenance of law and order", "on the political parties", "on the police and order", "on the land", "on the sanctioning and protection of the private property" etc.

During this period our parliament has lived through a series of events of special importance for the history of our country and nation such as : Albania's admission to the CSCE, the adoption of the resolution on Kosovo or lately the welcome of the first delegation of the assembly of [word indistinct] one of the important moments of the life of this parliament, he stressed, has been also the finding and formulation of the political solution through the creation of the national stability government and fixing of the untimely elections in the May-June 1992.

Likewise, the assembly has made efforts to have its say regarding the indispensable conditions for the national stability government to perform its mission, which in my opinion will be very difficult, but historic concerning the country's switch from a centrally planned, democratic and single-party system onto a democratic European type system.

It is the merit of this parliament to have realised a better transparence concerning the communication of the deputy or the minister with the people. We, as presidency, together with the commission of the mass media, based also on the requests of many deputies, have managed to find a relatively better solution than in the past.

A small number of foreign jurists, or deputies and delegations have come to our assembly at a time when we have had some visits and meetings abroad. Although this activity has greater proportions than before, we want to further intensify such exchanges. The presidency has been ready to establish contacts with all the parliaments of the European countries and has asked for exchanges in all planes.

Finally I may say that the role of the parliament in promoting and balancing of the democratic processes has been considerable.

Voicing once more the conviction that every deputy has worked and taken part in the debate without any prejudice for the promotion of democracy in our country, I declare the first session of the 12th legislature closed.

Socialist Party Discusses Relations in Israel

*AU1608203891 Tirana ATA in English 0919 GMT
16 Aug 91*

[Text] Tirana, August 16 (ATA) — At the invitation of the chairman of the Labourite Party of Israel Shimon Peres a delegation of the Socialist Party of Albania, led by its Chairman Fatos Nano, paid a visit to that country. In an interview with the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, he stresses among others:

The main meeting during the visit was that with Mr. Shimon Peres, who considered the visit of our delegation as a great important event for the establishment of the political relations between our two countries. Accepting the invitation to visit Albania, Shimon Peres stressed he may visit Albania by the beginning of October 1991 together with a group of political and economic experts.

From the economic point of view, Mr. Peres stressed that his party will influence in the Israeli investors for programs of investments in Albania. Besides, he pointed out he will talk with the Israeli parliament and government authorities to prepare an economic [words indistinct] Albania, asking on this occasion also for the list of the goods our people are in need of.

Fatos Nano stresses in his interview that Mr. Peres declared in the talks that the relations of aid and cooperation between the two parties will develop on no political condition. This message derives from the time and the process of peace itself initiated in the Middle East between Israel and the Arab countries.

After speaking of the meetings with Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, another leader of the Labourite Party, with the chairman of the Israeli Parliament Mr. Dov Shilansky etc., Fatos Nano dwells also on the meetings at the Israeli Foreign Ministry with Mr. Yosef (?Ovrin), where the stress was laid on the need of establishing diplomatic relations between our two countries. The Israeli party is getting ready for the visit of the Albanian Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani to discuss and agree on the establishment of diplomatic relations.

In all the meetings the two parties expressed the good will to start relations of cooperation proceeding from the common fates of the history of the two countries and the new circumstances created in the world today, especially in the Arab countries. They voiced the readiness for cooperation in the context of Mediterranean countries.

'First Reactions' to USSR State of Emergency

*AU1908091091 Sofia BTA in English 0755 GMT
19 Aug 91*

[*"First Bulgarian Reactions to the State of Emergency in the Soviet Union"*]

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—In the early morning hours TASS announced that a state of emergency had been declared in the Soviet Union. "This did not come as a surprise," said Mr. Borislav Dzhandzhiev, national radio correspondent in Moscow, who is in Sofia now.

The radio correspondent in the town of Ruse, Silvio Stefanov, said that Bulgarian reactions to the news were contradictory.

Some of the respondents in a public opinion survey conducted in Ruse believe that the developments in the Soviet Union will strengthen the position of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), while others say that they will make possible the unification of the opposition.

Some of the interviewed predicted that there would be long lines of people trying to re-register as members of the BSP, whose membership was halved after November 10, 1989, and is now some 500,000 people. Others believe that the BSP "radicals" will probably split off.

Opinions also differ as to the reaction of the West. The West wants stability and now has it, some said. According to others, however, the reaction from the West will not be favourable.

Foreign Ministry Comments

*AU1908131491 Sofia BTA in English 1058 GMT
19 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The reaction of Bulgaria's Government to the events in the USSR will become known after the cabinet's meeting this afternoon, which is to start at 3 PM [1200 GMT]. The government is to come out with a special declaration, the Government's Press Centre reported.

The president's reaction is expected as well.

Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs say they were taken aback by the events in the Soviet Union.

"Those who are now ruling Bulgaria know that the national interests require an independent policy. I believe that the changes in Bulgaria have reached far enough, so that the events in the USSR cannot push them back," Mr. Petko Bocharov, political observer, told the BTA. His prognoses usually come true.

Zhelev Attends Meeting

*AU1908144191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] A meeting of the Council of Ministers opened. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, is taking part

in the meeting. At the beginning of the meeting the participants were briefed by Viktor Vulkov, deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs, on the situation in the USSR. The Council of Ministers is expected to take a stand on the situation.

Zhelev Denounces Ouster

*AU1908131191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1237 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Statement by President Zhelyu Zhelev; place not given—recorded]

[Text] In principle, I expected such developments. However, last night's events have surprised me, as well as many other people.

Many years ago, in an article I ventured a description of the manner in which the transition from one system to another in the USSR would take place; that was more than 20 years ago.

Some three years ago, in the introduction of the Russian translation of my book "Fascism," I again confirmed my opinion and described the circumstances that could lead to such developments. Despite all this, I hoped that such a situation could be avoided. Unfortunately, it was not to be.

We do not have sufficient information about developments to categorically assess the situation. However, on the basis of what we know, and the information supplied by the various international mass media, it appears that this is a classic military coup, with the support of the KGB and the Ministry of Defense, and with the announcement of a six-month state of emergency. The information blackout imposed in the USSR, the uncertainty about Gorbachev's fate, and the movement of tanks and armored cars on Moscow's streets and in other Soviet cities testify to the fact that we are witnessing a military coup.

I think this will have very grave consequences for the USSR. This could open the road to endless and exceptionally bitter civil wars. In comparison, the situation in Yugoslavia will look like child's play. The Russians have a very sad tradition of civil wars, and I fear that from now on the road will be open to wars between nations, between the various republics, within the republics between various ethnic groups, and a civil war between the rightist and leftist political forces. All this could have exceptionally grave consequences that will not be limited to the USSR alone, but will also categorically, albeit indirectly, affect Eastern Europe, Europe, and the entire world.

The predictions of Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, as well as my own predictions of many years ago, unfortunately have materialized. A military dictatorship exists in the USSR. This already is a fact, if the information we have is correct.

My personal attitude is categorically negative. I condemn such antidemocratic methods of action because they could never lead to something positive, either for the Soviet Union or Eastern Europe, or for the development of events in the modern world. Therefore, most categorically and energetically, I condemn and reject these developments. I think that the issues must be resolved through political dialogue, talks, and negotiations, as well as through political compromises. There is no other alternative because the only other alternative is civil war and endless bloodshed that could deprive tens of thousands of people of their lives.

Dimitrov: No Reason To Doubt Army Loyalty

*AU1908150791 Sofia, 17A in English 1439 GMT
19 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 19 (BTA)—The necessity to terminate the military and political treaty with the Soviet Union has received yet another confirmation. The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) showed foresight, Mr. Filip Dimitrov, chairman of the National Coordinating Council of the SDS, said at the regular briefing today. The official declaration of the Coordinating Council has already been broadcast by the national radio and transmitted by the BTA. The SDS was the first political force in Bulgaria to react to the military coup in Moscow.

Mr. Filip Dimitrov stressed explicitly that Bulgaria can solve its problems by democratic means regardless of the events in the Soviet Union. These events have made the holding of the elections within the legal term still more expedient.

The situation in Bulgaria is related to the development of the democratic processes which enjoy the wide support of all strata of the population and therefore even if some institutions are headed by people of a different opinion these institutions do not inevitably share their stand. At present we have no reason to doubt the loyalty of the ministers or the leading cadres of the Army, Mr. Filip Dimitrov said in response to a question.

The stand of the SDS has always been in favour of consolidating the opposition to one degree or another, Mr. Filip Dimitrov said when asked whether the events in the Soviet Union will unite the Bulgarian opposition.

The SDS Parliamentary Group (the radical opposition) has as yet not discussed the issue of motioning a draft declaration on the events in the Soviet Union on behalf of the Bulgarian Parliament. Parliament will have a plenary session tomorrow. Today there will be a meeting of the political forces.

Army Denies Unit Movements Near Maritsa-East

*AU1808134191 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] In connection with previous reports that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation will submit an official

query to the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs about Army unit movements in the area of Maritsa-East on 17 August, Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, commander in chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, made the following statement:

[Begin Col. Gen Petrov recording] This is Col. Gen. Petrov. In connection with the statement made by Yaraslav Nenov in the "Sunday-150" radio program, I would like to inform the Khorizont Radio listeners that certain military units conducted training during the week. This was a part of a planned training program that ended on 17 August. The units have returned to the camps, and their actions were not connected with the actions of the Strike Committee of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. [end recording]

Army Explanation

*AU1808162491 Sofia BTA in English 1540 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, 18 August (BTA)—The BTA received an announcement of the Press Center of the Ministry of Defense, saying:

"In the past week the outfits in Stara Zagora and Khaskovo and their subordinate units held field exercises in accordance with the training curriculum. After the end of the exercises (on August 17) the troops returned to their permanent garrisons. The exercises were scheduled at the beginning of the year and have nothing to do with the miners' strike."

The announcement points out that in the future the Ministry of Defense undertakes to inform the public in advance about the "major field exercises."

SDS-Liberals Concerned With Political Situation

*AU1808135091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] The leaderships of the organizations that form the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Liberal—Ecoglasnost, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the Club of the Repressed, the Alternative Socialist Association-Independent, and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union-United—have issued an appeal in which they express concern with the development of the political situation and the growth of social tension.

A strike wave is developing in the country, the document disseminated by BTA reads: The problems accumulated during the 45 year rule of the Bulgarian Communist Party are being utilized today by the red economic nomenklatura. Leading circles of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, including the government and the leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation are speculating with those problems. They are trying to stop the reforms, attain unpure political goals, and destroy social peace on the eve of the elections. Bulgaria needs the reform. It must continue, the authors of the appeal point out categorically. They call on the workers to distinguish

between what they would like to have and what our economy could really provide. They appeal to the state institutions to guarantee the progress of the reform and social peace and tranquillity within the framework of their possibilities. The appeal proposes signing a new political agreement that will guarantee the country's stability and create conditions for free and democratic elections.

Podkrepa Rejects Government Decree on Executives

*AU1808193991 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 18 (BTA)—In connection with "the constant obstructions of the government against the general activity of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation and its persistent silence about the second stage of the agreement for social peace" the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation has decided to delay the ratification of this stage of the agreement.

The Executive Council of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation will not attend the meetings of the national commissions on the coordination of interests until the reception of the government's official reply about the unfulfilled clauses of the agreement.

The Confederative Council categorically rejects Resolution 252 of the Council of Ministers on the legitimacy of business executives and states that its sections and organizations will not consider it.

It also reminds that the resolution was passed by the Council of Ministers regardless of Podkrepa's protest.

It contradicts the stipulations of the agreement for social peace which was signed in January between the government and the trade unions and which says that only business executives who have been appointed through a management competition will be considered legitimate.

Besides, this governmental resolution administratively legalizes all directors as "employers," including those to be charged with offenses and violation of the Labour Code, says Podkrepa.

In order to start the wage bargaining as soon as possible, the Confederative Council suggests that the government immediately revoke its Resolution 252 of August 8, 1991 and channel its efforts for the holding of management competitions.

Podkrepa Accuses KNSB of 'Collaboration'

*AU1808194191 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 18 (BTA)—Today's decision of the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation points out that the position of the Executive Council of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB) in the recent weeks is a

neglecting of the agreements between the trade unions and the government and a cynical betrayal of the workers' interests.

Podkrepa accuses the KNSB of having negotiated with the government the passage of Resolution 252 against their protest. It blames its partner for having given up the free choice of the number of labour contracts in a company. Besides, it charges the KNSB with "entire disinterestedness and abandoning of the branch, field and regional bargaining, which were ignored by the government as well."

Podkrepa charges the KNSB with betrayal and political speculation with the workers' interests in the course of the national miners' strike and with "collaboration" with the government and the employers.

The Confederative Council orders the Executive Committee of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation to give up contacts with the Executive Council of the KNSB until it reconsiders its position.

BSDP on Planned Takeover of Party Buildings

*AU1808135291 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network
in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] We have received through BTA a letter from the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (BSDP) Executive Council, which reads:

In connection with the illegitimate Extraordinary BSDP Congress taking place in Sofia on 17 and 18 August, the BSDP Executive Council received a tip on a planned violent takeover of the party headquarters and premises at the following addresses: Yanko Zabunov Street No. 10; Ekzarkh Yosif Street No. 37; and Aleksandur Stamboliyski Boulevard No. 87. We would like to point out that the offices of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been notified about the tip. In addition, the party security guards have been activated. We appeal for prudence, for refraining from violence, and for preserving legal order.

BSDP Congress Unseats Dertliev, Party Splits

*AU1808184291 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT
18 Aug 91*

[Text] Sofia, August 18 (BTA)—The 39th Extraordinary Congress of the BSDP [Bulgarian Social Democratic Party] proclaimed today the unseating of Dr. Petur Dertliev and the election of a new National Committee and Executive Bureau. The BSDP has practically split, as Dr. Petur Dertliev and his team refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the congress and the elected leadership.

The Extraordinary Congress demanded that the party's property and seal be turned over to the new leadership, an auditing be carried out and control be taken over the party's daily, "SVOBODEN NAROD." The argument will obviously have to be solved in court and the new

leadership will have to prove the legitimacy of its election. Meanwhile, they have sent a special telegram to inform the Socialist International that the congress is representative and the election is legitimate.

The forum issued a "political declaration" on the BSDP's tactics in the election campaign.

Factions Discuss Election Law Differences

AU1608192791 Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT
16 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 16 (BTA)—After today's plenary parliamentary session the leaders of the parliamentary factions held consultations on three controversial issues concerning the forthcoming elections: the two clauses of the Elections Act which the president returned for consideration and the methods for calculating election results.

According to two opposition MP's who took part in the consultations the leaders of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) stood firm on their position. The Socialists may yield only on Article 58 of the elections act, i.e. to agree that organizations which have not been registered as parties be allowed to take part in the election campaign.

However, the BSP representatives stuck to the variant for calculating election results which was voted through today. Representatives of the Green Party warned that they would boycott the elections if the Socialists impose their variant.

The issue will be reconsidered at a plenary session on August 19.

Ministry Needs \$4 Billion For Environment Problem

AU1608143791 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT
16 Aug 91

[Text] Sofia, August 16 (BTA)—"The funds allocated for environmental protection accounted for no more than 1.7 percent of Bulgaria's gross domestic product. Moreover, the allocations were made on the so-called 'residual principle,'" it is said in a report of the Centre for Environmental Monitoring with the Ministry of the Environment. The report, which will be presented at the UN Conference on Environment and Development due to be held in Brazil in 1992, was made public at a press conference today by Mr. Tsonyu Mikhaylov, director of the Centre.

In the 1975-1990 period metallurgy, coal mining and the power industry generated more than 2 billion tonnes of solid waste. Bulgaria needs 2.5 billion dollars to solve this problem, Mr. Mikhaylov said. According to the report, some 50 million dollars per year will be needed to repair the damage done by using the polluted waters of the Danube river to irrigate 200,000 hectares of land. Air pollution is dangerous to birds of passage. Bulgaria needs about 1 billion dollars to clean up its air.

Mr. Venko Beshkov, deputy minister of the environment, said he hoped that in the future the United Nations would divide the countries into three instead of two groups: developed, developing and countries undergoing a period of marketization. This suggestion stems from the fact that the East European countries share some common concerns, Mr. Beshkov said.

The report reviews the geographical characteristics of the country, its population and natural resources. It also sets forth Bulgaria's environmental policy which is in line with the process of structural readjustment of the Bulgarian economy. It is stressed in the report that the definition of a long-term economic, social, political and environmental policy will make it easier to bring life to normal and to solve the specific problems of the Balkan countries, Mr. Gancho Ganchev, an official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said.

Prices, Employment Figures Issued for 1991

AU1708171591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
14 Aug 91 p 1

[DUMA report]

[Text] Data issued by the Central Statistical Administration shows that, on average, during the first six months of the year, 3,348,000 persons were employed in the public sector, of whom 2,618,000 were engaged in material production.

The average monthly wage was 606 leva, including compensation payments, which made up 46.8 percent of total income in May and 49.6 percent in June.

During June 1991, the prices of the 1,700 goods and services monitored showed almost no changes as compared with May. However, prices rose again in July, and the statistics show that inflation in July was 8.4 percent as compared with June.

I. Carnogursky, Kucerak Comment on Meciar's Offer
AU1608143291 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
15 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ivan Carnogursky, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, and Jozef Kucerak, chairman of the Slovak Council of the Public Against Violence movement, by Robert Kotian and Marian Bednar on 14 August; place not given]

[Text] At yesterday's briefing of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar put forward a number of remarkable ideas that should not escape our readers' attention. As his words were addressed mainly to the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Public Against Violence movement [VPN], we asked I. Carnogursky and J. Kucerak for an interview:

[Kotian, Bednar] At his briefing yesterday, V. Meciar offered HZDS support for a government composed purely of Christian Democrats. What is your position on this proposal?

[Carnogursky] First of all, Mr. Meciar and his faction of deputies in the Slovak National Council represent a very small force in the context of our domestic political scene—so small, in fact, that there is no way he can claim the right to force his ideas on other political groups. This is really without precedent. Second, the HZDS chairman's role in politics is very negative. He has always been the initiator of the confrontations that have arisen. That, too, is a reason for us not to cooperate with this politician. Trusting in cooperation with him (as a contribution for Slovakia) would be a sheer illusion. We take Mr. Meciar's offer with a grain of salt. At the same time, I believe there is very little that would justify his organizing political life in Slovakia.

[Kotian, Bednar] At its briefing, the HZDS called for a constructive dialogue free of needless emotions. In your opinion as a potential partner, will this phenomenon have a lasting character?

[Carnogursky] It is very interesting that it was precisely the HZDS that has come up with such an initiative. We have always been guided by the principle of maintaining a correct relationship [with rival political groups]. It goes without saying that such a change in the HZDS's attitude is to be welcomed, but I really dare not predict how long it will last.

[Kotian, Bednar] Nonetheless, is the offer for the formation of a Slovak Government made up only of Christian Democrats not attractive?

[Carnogursky] The KDH did not go into the government with the idea of usurping all power for itself. How am I to understand V. Meciar's offer for cooperation in forming a new government when, at the same time, he has been trying, behind our backs, to conduct talks with functionaries—not only from the ranks of the KDH, but

also from other political parties—with the objective of gaining a majority for himself? The effect of this on the Slovak political spectrum is expressly destructive. Do you think that we, and other political parties, can trust him on the issue of cooperation?

[Kotian, Bednar] It is rumored in the lobbies that V. Meciar has been holding talks with some KDH representatives. Are you not afraid that ambitious, national-minded politicians from your movement might simply sacrifice you and your brother [Jan] to achieve an agreement between the HZDS and the KDH?

[Carnogursky] I do not have this fear because neither my brother nor I have become involved in politics just to fulfill our personal political ambitions, on the basis of which we are supposed to constantly fear our possible dismissal. The KDH continues to proceed from certain ideas of the Christian spiritual platform.... My own activity and that of my brother is being controlled from this angle of vision. It is deceptive to claim that the KDH is glorifying us and that we have usurped the right to shape the KDH's political line. Our position in the movement has nothing in common with the fuhrer principle [vodcovsky princip] applied in the HZDS. If the KDH opts for cooperation with someone, it will definitely be a type of politician who is morally cleaner than Mr. Meciar.

[Kotian, Bednar] How do you assess the VPN's position in the government coalition from the viewpoint of support it gets from Slovak political parties?

[Kucerak] The VPN is the victorious movement. It is a member of the government coalition, and we regard ourselves as the guarantor of reform and of the preservation of a common federal state. We proceed from the premise that support for a political party finds its expression in voters' support in the elections, and this support ends, or begins, with the subsequent elections. This is why various objections that the VPN represents only a small portion of citizens are unwarranted. A democracy has its mechanism, which is always based on the election results. Our position is that of a coalition partner who is trying to make, and is making, meaningful compromises with the other coalition partners.

[Kotian, Bednar] Do you regard as realistic the prospect of the formation of a "pure" KDH government supported by a broad coalition of political parties in the Slovak National Council?

[Kucerak] It is interesting that, not so long ago, Mr. Meciar accused us of having surrendered power to the KDH. And now indications are becoming apparent that he, too, would like to contribute to the KDH wielding full governmental power. This seems to be somehow incongruous with his previous statements. Moreover, the risk arises of a natural cooperation being brought about among political parties and movements such as the KDH, the HZDS, the Slovak National Party, and the Party of the Democratic Left. I cannot imagine very well

the constructive negotiations and decisions of a legislature and government of such a structure.

[Kotian, Bednar] How much do you trust your coalition partner KDH, also in view of KDH Central Secretary J. Petrik's statement that, should a referendum be held, the KDH would recommend to its sympathizers to vote for the federation's division?

[Kucerak] Our trust in the KDH is not based just on individual statements. We proceed from longer-term experiences of cooperation that date back to June 1990 and is based on mutual trust. I believe that the KDH sees us as a trustworthy partner because we do not change our positions and policies. As for the future setup of Czechoslovakia, we continue to proceed from the fact that the KDH confirmed the results of the Kromeriz agreements. This is also why Jan Petrik's statement should be a subject of discussion. Nonetheless, no radical judgments ought to be made on the basis of this statement.

Pithart Receives Support From Coalition Partners

AU1708143191 Prague CESKE A
MORAVSKOSLEZSKE ZEMEDELSE NOVINY
in Czech 15 Aug 91 p 3

[CTK report: "The Presidium Was United"]

[Text] Prague— "[Czech] Prime Minister Petr Pithart enjoys my absolute and unconditional support," Tomas Jezek, Czech minister for the administration and privatization of national property, told the CTK correspondent yesterday. Minister Jezek, who is a member of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA], said further that he strongly regrets that his own party, through ODA Chairman Pavel Bratinka, had cast doubt on Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart's remaining in his post following his call on Bohumil Kubat (also an ODA member) to resign from the post of Czech minister of agriculture.

Tomas Jezek, who recently returned from his vacation, stressed that he supports the prime minister's demand for Bohumil Kubat's resignation and added that he would like to discuss the issue with ODA leading representatives Pavel Bratinka and Daniel Kroupa because he is convinced that their endeavor to bring about a change in the post of prime minister is unfortunate as it would destabilize the Czech Government. He pointed out that he does not want to yield to party discipline and that practical solutions have priority for him.

"The decision by the Czech Government Presidium to propose [to the Czech National Council Presidium] that Minister Kubat be dismissed was unanimous, as far as I know," Czech Deputy Prime Minister Antonin Baudys (Czechoslovak People's Party) told the CTK correspondent. Baudys does not consider it appropriate, however, to deal with such discussions publicly in the press because the body authorized to deal with this issue is the Czech National Council Presidium. Personally, Deputy

Prime Minister Baudys believes that it was unfortunate that the proposal was raised before the legislative summer recess.

Another member of the Czech Republic Government Presidium, [Czech] Deputy Prime Minister Jan Strasky, who represents the Civic Democratic Party, also voiced unequivocal support for the Czech prime minister. "Of course, the prime minister avails himself of a sufficient number of arguments for his claim that Minister Kubat has caused a number of mistakes in agriculture. I am unable to judge whether this warrants his departure, but the prime minister is more experienced in this regard," Jan Strasky said. Deputy Prime Minister Strasky voiced the fear that both alternatives are realistic: Either Prime Minister Pithart will prevail, or Minister Kubat. "But I do not believe that an easy solution would consist of a replacement of the Czech Government head. That could become a problem that would cost us a lot of time," Deputy Prime Minister Strasky said in conclusion.

Pithart Expresses Doubts About Referendum Call

AU1608132991 Prague CTK in English 1926 GMT
14 Aug 91

[Text] Prague Aug 14 (CTK)— Czech Premier Petr Pithart today told a press conference held during a session of his cabinet that democracy might be endangered if a referendum on the future constitutional setup of Czechoslovakia is misused.

He said he believed "it is impossible to formulate principal questions in a referendum on the setup of the state so that they can be answered with 'yes' or 'no'."

"We have to abandon the idea of being able to complete the constitution by the original deadline (October 28, 1991). Everything must be solved gradually," Pithart said.

"I wonder why the mass media is surprised at the way I publicly communicate with (Slovak) Premier Jan Carnogursky on the future setup of the state. It was this public communication which contributed to making significant progress in finding out what Slovak political representatives really think," he said, adding that Slovak Minister for International Relations Pavol Demes even felt obliged to stress that Carnogursky's recent statement that Slovakia should be independent by the year 2000 is not the official stand of the Slovak Government.

On the subject of controversial Czech Minister of Agriculture Bohumil Kubat, Pithart said he still insists on Kubat's resignation.

The Civic Movement (OH) Secretary, Lubor Kinst, told CTK today that the fact that Pithart now questions the possibility of formulating unambiguous questions in a referendum "seems to be the result of his understanding the situation as a well-known essayist and someone who has become familiar with the vexed mechanisms of parliamentary work," Kinst said.

"As OH deputy chairman, Pithart was present at the session of the Republic Council (where it was decided to initiate a referendum) and supported its stand," Kinst said.

KDH Deputies' Possible Departure Viewed

AU1708144491 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK
in Slovak 14 Aug 91 p 1

["mru"-signed report: "J. Brocka, Chairman of the Club of Christian Democratic Movement Deputies: It Is Only Someone's Pious Wish...."]

[Text] Reports, especially those that are unfounded and smack of a sensation, tend to spread at lightning speed. One such report was published by LIDOVE NOVINY and reprinted in yesterday's issue of NARODNA OBRODA. It claims that, according to sources close to the Slovak National Council, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] has recently been conducting a tenacious, behind-the-scenes campaign to persuade seven hitherto unidentified Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] deputies who do not identify with the policies of J. Carnogursky's government to transfer to the ranks of the opposition. To find out whether it is true that there is no smoke without fire, we approached Julius Brocka, chairman of the KDH Club of Deputies in the Slovak National Council:

[SLOVENSKY DENNIK] Do you have an idea which seven of the 31 KDH deputies in the Slovak National Council might join the opposition, according to these unidentified sources?

[Brocka] I do not know of any deputy from our movement who would be considering his transfer to another legislative party, let alone the HZDS. I see in the launching of this report nothing but the pious wish of someone who is envious because the KDH's popularity is starting to grow. At a time of growing popular trust in the legislature and the government of J. Carnogursky, it is unreasonable and unrealistic to assume that KDH deputies might switch to the HZDS, since we know that the popularity of both the HZDS and Meciar himself are declining in the public. My guess is that the opposition is using this silly season to analyze the past legislative year, voting in the Slovak National Council, and everything that happened there in its course. It can make some deductions and derive certain conclusions from that which are incorrect, however, in my opinion. Quite the contrary, I believe that some Christian-oriented deputies in the HZDS might switch to the KDH after the legislative recess because it has become apparent that Meciar's HZDS has very little in common with Christianity.

Finance Ministry Official on Direct Taxation Law

AU1808125991 Prague HOSPODARSKE
NOVINY in Czech 14 Aug 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Engineer Vaclav Grammetbauer, director of the Federal Finance Ministry Direct Taxation

Department, by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "Will Taxes Become a Bone of Contention?"]

[Excerpts] The direct taxation system—that is, the system that so obviously swallows part of our citizens' and enterprises' income—is also facing fundamental reform.

We discussed this reform and other topics with Engineer Vaclav Grammetbauer, director of the Federal Finance Ministry Direct Taxation Department: [passage omitted]

[Doleckova] What is the essence of the personal direct taxes reform?

[Grammetbauer] Individual income tax will be amended in such a way that the existing three taxes (on wages, on the population's income, and on literary and artistic activity) will be replaced by a single universal income tax. This means that all kinds of income will be taxed in accordance with one law. This change is associated with another change, also of a fundamental nature: The approach toward health, social, and employees' insurance is being altered. The citizen will pay for this himself. Consequently, the reform is based on the citizen's independence and on his responsibility for his own life. [passage omitted] In our opinion, income tax should have a universal character.

[Doleckova] That is, no income should be exempt from taxation?

[Grammetbauer] We prefer a broad-based taxation system and lower tax rates. In other words: We are indeed in favor of all incomes being taxed. Of course, the question arises whether we should tax interest on the population's savings and income from shares, bonds, and all kinds of annuities. Moreover, foreign entities could be among these recipients. In my opinion, all these kinds of income should be subject to direct taxation. [passage omitted]

[Doleckova] Perhaps there is a certain income level below which tax is not paid?

[Grammetbauer] Our proposal also proceeds from this principle. We even want to set a relatively high threshold below which an income would not be taxed. This is also because citizens have to get used to new payments associated with various types of insurance. Taxation above this threshold will have a moderately progressive nature. We would like there to be as few tax brackets [danove pasmo] as possible.

[Doleckova] Are tax benefits being taken into consideration for foreign entities?

[Grammetbauer] The question should be put a little differently: Should this involve benefits for the foreign payer or for the other state? If benefits were to be granted to a foreign entity, then this could mean that his income would be taxed in his country of permanent residence. Or, this would involve benefits for the other state. This problem is normally dealt with by taxing the income in

the country where the income was made and by adopting measures to ensure that the income is not taxed twice. This is usually done by a treaty between states on limiting dual taxation, while taking into consideration not only the economic but also the practical points of view. For example, the income of a foreign assembly-line worker is taxed up to a certain period in the country where he works. However, dividends and incomes from franchises and so on are mostly taxed by means of a deduction at source in the country where they are paid.

[Doleckova] With how many countries do we have such agreements?

[Grammetbauer] With 20. However, we are negotiating many others, including, for example, the United States and Israel. It is necessary to complete everything quickly because this will remove the barriers that dual taxation places on the development of mutual economic relations.

[Doleckova] Will you manage to prepare this reform so that it can come into force on 1 January 1993?

[Grammetbauer] We would like to. [passage omitted]

Details on 'Food for Oil' Barter With RSFSR

AU1708132791 Prague RUDE PRAVO
in Czech 13 Aug 91 p 1

["nn"-signed report: "Russian Oil for Our Food"]

[Text] Prague—Czechoslovakia will export \$260 million worth of food to the Russian Federation by the end of this year in exchange for crude oil and other raw materials of the same value.

According to our information, specific contracts to this effect were concluded in Prague and Bratislava on 28 May. They were signed by representatives of the RSFR [Russian Soviet Federated Republic, abbreviation as published], the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czech Republic, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak Republic. Today, the first reciprocal deliveries have already been prepared.

The contract between the Czech Republic and the RSFR states, among other things, that our side will deliver 500,000 tonnes of wheat, 300,000 tonnes of feed grain, 200,000 tonnes of rye, 15,000 tonnes of beef, 12,000 tonnes of pork, 10,000 tonnes of poultry, 30,000 tonnes of sugar, as well as animal fats, baby food, canned food, eggs, powdered milk, preserved fruit, juice concentrate, soap, and so forth. In exchange, we will import one million tonnes of crude oil, 400,000 tonnes of coal for electricity generation, 100,000 tonnes of coking coal, aluminum, zinc, over 200,000 cubic meters of round wood and sawn wood, and 16 tonnes of pulp.

The contract with Slovakia provides for the export of 12,000 tonnes of beef, 3,000 tonnes of pork, 6,000 tonnes of poultry, 1,000 tonnes of lamb, 12,000 tonnes of butter, baby food, salami, and powdered milk. In exchange, the Slovak Republic will import 300,000 tonnes of crude oil, 6,000 tonnes of pulp, 150,000 cubic meters of timber, and chemical raw materials. Apart from this, the DAK [agricultural combine] MOVA Bratislava company will ensure, according to our information, the export of additional 100,000 tonnes of meat and 500,000 tonnes of grain from Slovak farmers' excess output.

The exchange should be implemented by the end of this year. There can be debates about its advantages. At any rate, it should allow our farmers to get rid of the expected grain surplus and significantly reduce our excess meat and butter stocks. Our economy should also benefit from the import of 1.3 million tonnes of crude oil, the present world market value of which is approximately \$165 million and which will cover more than 10 percent of our consumption this year. The other chemical raw materials are not negligible either, as we would have to import them for hard currencies anyway.

According to information from the Soviet side, similar deals in the years to come are not out of the question. It depends on whether Czechoslovakia will avail itself of excess food and whether its offer will be capable of competing with other countries' offers.

Foreign Ministry Official on Security Policy

*AU1708135691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Aug 91 pp. 2, 3*

[Interview with David Meiszter, deputy state secretary at the Foreign Ministry, by Csaba Nagy; place and date not given: "The Army Is Only the Final Means"]

[Text] At its meeting last week, the Hungarian Government approved the security policy concepts submitted by the foreign minister. Our correspondent asked David Meiszter about the main ideas. In his interview with NEPSZABADSAG, David Meiszter outlined the philosophy behind the Hungarian security policy concepts, namely that Hungary takes care of its own security—not alone and not against others, but in agreement with other states. According to these concepts, the military factor can only be used as a final means.

[Nagy] What areas does the Hungarian security policy cover? Has its essence and importance changed after the change in the regime?

[Meiszter] As far as I know, this is the first time that the Hungarian Government has adopted an independent security policy concept. Given the well-known historical conditions, this would also be true if something similar had formally emerged earlier. Two conditions had to be fulfilled for such an independent security policy to emerge: the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact.

Besides, I would like to clarify something regarding the rumors about the latest government meeting. The government adopted the concept and, therefore, the ensuing ministerial tasks, rather than the basic principles, will again be discussed by the cabinet.

In my view, an independent security policy concept is the key issue of every country's foreign, defense, and even domestic policy. Foreign policy is built around this concept. Defense principles should be in natural harmony with security policy concepts. The latter has priority in the course of formulating the principles because defense principles can only emerge after the formulation of security policy concepts, in harmony with them, and only then comes the program of army reorganization. As for the defense principles, the Defense Ministry has been working on them for a long time, in conjunction with the Foreign Ministry. Therefore, their ideas are in harmony with the recently adopted basic principles, and thus they can be submitted to the government very quickly. However, security policy concepts are also a key issue for our domestic policy, because these concepts provide the basis on which we must create the external conditions in which a certain domestic policy can be carried out.

[Nagy] What methods and people were used in formulating the basic principles?

[Meiszter] From the very beginning, we were convinced that security policy concepts must be based on national consensus. The first concepts formulated by the Foreign

Ministry's security policy department were coordinated with all the other ministries involved at an expert level. We then set up a body of researchers independent of the government, and they further filtered the already refined concepts. Next, we called upon the legislative parties to examine the draft through their representatives in the foreign affairs committee and to express their opinions. Finally, the draft was submitted to the government following an interministerial coordination, at the level of ministerial heads. After the first reading, the cabinet made some modifications, and we introduced these changes into the draft, and the final concept was then adopted by the government. The government then ordered the relevant ministries to work out their task program. The material will be made public following the decision of the Assembly.

In cooperation with the relevant ministries, the Foreign Ministry will continuously follow the implementation of these security policy principles as well as the changing circumstances, and will report to the government in the first month of every year and, if necessary, the Foreign Ministry will propose changes. These changes could refer to both the task programs and the concepts themselves.

[Nagy] Has the "security policy vacuum" emerged as a decisive factor during the preparation of this draft?

[Meiszter] This subject emerged independently from the preparation, namely when we began the process of disbanding the Warsaw Pact. I was always against treating the situation that emerged after the disbanding of the Warsaw Pact as a vacuum, because the Warsaw Pact only guaranteed security to one member out of its seven members. Consequently, for the other six members, the situation has not become worse, at least from this viewpoint. Inadvertently, the term vacuum created the impression that the security of these countries has deteriorated and this led to a mistaken interpretation. If I say that a vacuum has emerged, one automatically will draw the conclusion that this vacuum has to be filled somehow. However, Hungary does not want to guarantee its security by striving for some kind of new alliance to replace the Warsaw Pact, but by joining another type of integration made up of a much larger circle of countries.

However, as long as they do not reach a certain level, the changes that have begun in our region—changes that are fantastic, both regarding their quality and speed—represent a serious instability. First of all, the countries in question cover the path of these changes at different speed, and this causes tensions for those who are lagging behind. Problems that have always been there but were disregarded have now come forward. The fact that the existence as a whole unit of some states in the region has become questionable is also a source of danger. The processes are unpredictable. Therefore, to a certain extent, the welcome changes that have taken place in Europe and the happy changes for the population of the countries in question emerge as a potential source of danger at a given moment. We have formulated our security policy concepts by starting from these realities.

[Nagy] What are the basic principles of this concept?

[Meisster] I cannot give details because we have not yet debated the draft in the Assembly. Therefore, I would rather tell you about the philosophy behind this concept. Our basic principle is the following: Hungary is taking care of its own security, not alone and not against others but in agreement with other states. Essentially, we would like to see cooperation between Hungary and the members states of the Helsinki process that covers politics, economic life, human rights, legal issues, environmental protection, and military cooperation. The order is also important this time. All this would create close cooperation that provides a security guarantee in itself. Our goal is to see to it that, if anyone has the mad idea to threaten us or initiate an armed conflict, pain is felt in all these countries as a result of this close cooperation.

I mentioned the military factor in the last place because all the other factors are playing a considerably greater role in this concept. This does not mean that the role of the Hungarian Army should be reduced, but the weight of the military factor should decrease proportionally with the time. In my view, the Hungarian Army should be reorganized into an absolutely defensive army, on the basis of these security policy concepts. If, despite the aforementioned system of guarantees, Hungary is threatened militarily or is attacked, the Hungarian Army should serve as a deterrent force and should be able to restore the original situation.

Therefore, the essence of this philosophy is to create a correlation that is not yet given at the present time. The creation of such a correlation takes time and presupposes the continuation of the positive processes that have begun in the past two years and that continue to be on the agenda. Our goal is to create a security network made up of four well-determined strata.

[Nagy] What are these strata?

[Meisster] Hungary's link to and participation in the Helsinki process, with two "if" words, would make the first of these four strata: If the Helsinki process covers all its current members. Hungary is interested in seeing all its neighbors participate in this process. The second condition is the following: if the Helsinki process continues to develop in the direction of systematization and bodies are created that are capable of preventing and handling conflicts.

The second of those four strata is made up of Hungary's correlation with the Western-European integrations. The organizations created voluntarily by the members should function well and cover the whole of society.

However, one must be aware of the fact that these integration organizations are extremely different in nature and, therefore, approaching and linking with these organizations can also be only differentiated too. The task of our foreign policy is precisely to find the adequate connecting points with all these organizations. For example, NATO is not ready to expand its circle of

members in any direction. Besides, the Hungarian Government has never aspired to become a NATO member, and this is based on recognizing reality. At the same time, we saw that we can create very useful contacts with some of its bodies. However, the approach is totally different toward the Council of Europe, a body that we have joined, and we also chose another type of connection with the EEC. These complex ties would represent the second in the aforementioned four strata.

Regional cooperation, in which Hungary is a partner, makes up the third in the four strata of the aforementioned network. These regional and subregional cooperations differ from the aforementioned integrations by not being all-European, but essentially and decisively they represent cooperation among neighbors. The nature of this cooperation is not defensive or military, but it covers an area that automatically derives from the proximity and interdependence of these countries. The Hexagonale is a good example, in which transport, communications, contacts between small and medium enterprises, and environment are the main areas of cooperation. This applies to all similar regional and subregional cooperation forms, like the cooperation of the Three, Alps-Adria cooperation, and the Tisza-Carpathians cooperation. All these represent close relations between the countries in question and create mutual interest in each country's peace and security.

The fourth in the aforementioned strata is the interwoven system of bilateral cooperation based on a new type of agreement between neighboring, and also non-neighboring countries. We are talking here about bilateral agreements that basically differ from the bilateral agreements signed between the former socialist countries. These are partnership agreements signed by sovereign states, on the basis of equal rights. At the same time, these agreements are security partnership contracts between immediate neighboring countries, because we are ready to offer so-called negative security guarantees in the framework of such partnership agreements. This means that we are ready to undertake to refrain from organizing aggressive acts against the country in question on our territory and to refrain from allowing others to organize such acts on our territory. If we succeeded in signing such a series of agreements and this practice spread further, a system of agreement would emerge that would provide mutual security guarantees.

Therefore, the essence of our security policy concept is that we would like to guarantee Hungary's peace through an extremely close system of cooperation. We would like to see a situation in which any threat directed toward us immediately elicits a reaction from our partners. Therefore, this is how we would like to avoid threats, and not by means of weapons. The Army is only the last means of this concept, something that we would only use if all the aforementioned means failed to bring the expected result.

Reportage on Reaction to Gorbachev Ouster

Official Communique Expected

*LD1908094691 Warsaw PAP in English 0806 GMT
19 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 19—Following the introduction of the state of emergency in the USSR, spokesman for the Polish Border Guards headquarters Jaroslaw Zukowicz reported that crossing points on Poland's eastern border worked normally Monday morning, and the Soviet side did not interrupt border clearings.

There were no restrictions introduced to the air traffic between Warsaw and Moscow, head of the transport service of the Polish Lot Airlines Zygmunt Kulaczowski said at 8:45 Monday morning.

Meanwhile, spokesman for the Polish Government's official responsible for the issues linked with the stay of the Soviet troops in Poland Stefan Golebiowski stated at 8:50 he had no information about any movements of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army units in Poland on Monday.

According to Zbigniew Skoczylas, a former official in the Interior Ministry responsible for refugees issues, there are 50,000 to 80,000 Soviet citizens in Poland currently.

Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki refused to comment on the situation in the USSR Monday morning but said an official communique can be expected later in the day.

No Official Reaction From Walesa

*LD1908100591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] This is Andrzej Jelenski at Belweder. The only thing that transpires from information I have obtained at the presidential spokesman's office is that President Lech Walesa this morning had a meeting with Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, and they discussed the political situation after the introduction of a state of emergency in the Soviet Union. It is most likely that President Lech Walesa spoke by telephone with General Wojciech Jaruzelski. It is also known that the president has held telephone consultations with Senate Speaker Professor Andrzej Stelmachowski and ministers responsible for security and defense Internal Affairs Minister Henryk Majewski, National Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk, and Minister Lech Kaczynski, who is responsible for issues of national security at the president's office.

So far, no official position of the president on the introduction of the state of emergency in the Soviet Union has been issued.

Border Crossing 'Operating Normally'

*LD1908072391 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0700 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] One more item that I think might be of interest to our listeners: The border crossings on Poland's eastern

border—this is a report from half-an-hour ago—have been operating normally. The Soviet side has not stopped border and customs clearance operations. We received this report from Captain Jaroslaw Zukowicz, spokesman of the Border Guard main headquarters.

No Reports of Soviet Army Movements

*LD1908081891 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0800 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw—There are no reports of movements by units of the Northern Group of the Soviet Army in Poland.

Air Force Chief Refuses Comment

*LD1908103691 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] General Henryk Pietrzak, air force and air defense troops chief of staff, has refused to say whether the Polish air defense system has been strengthened in connection with the introduction of a state of emergency in the Soviet Union. He referred journalists to the National Defense Ministry press spokesman.

Council Approves Budget Law Amendments

*LD1708013691 Warsaw PAP in English 2205 GMT
16 Aug 91*

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 16—The Council of Ministers approved amendments to the Budget Law for 1991 and principles of executing state budget in 1991 at a meeting here Friday.

Under the draft, the budget revenues will amount to 227 trillion zloty's (close to 20 billion USD)—which means a 21.5 per cent fall in comparison to initial estimates.

The admissible budget deficit is assessed at 24 trillion zloty's (just over two billion USD) and the expenditures will amount to 251 trillion zloty's (close to 22 billion USD)—a 14.5 per cent fall to previous estimates—with simultaneous substantial changes in the expenditure structure.

The draft gives priority to social benefits with a 28.3 per cent increase in expenditures and for health service and education.

The Council of Ministers was acquainted with a joint project worked out by the privatization ministry and the central planning office on the current state and prospects for economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and other east European countries in conditions of convertible currency clearings.

The government intends to continue political steps supporting the development of effective and good-neighbourly cooperation with the Soviet Union and its republics but under reshaped principles and mechanisms that are to be based on economic calculations and market economy.

The government approved a package of documents presented by the privatization minister on the implementation of Sejm (lower house) resolution on the basic lines and course of the privatization process, that are to be submitted to the parliament in the coming days.

Draft Budget Changes, Trade Talks Reported

*LD1708051391 Warsaw TVP Television Network
in Polish 2030 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] The government has adopted the draft changes in the budget act for the second half of the year. The expected deficit amounts to 24 billion zlotys. Income will be down by 21.5 percent on that planned at the beginning of the year; this will make it imperative to reduce expenditures in all sectors. The biggest cuts will be in investments. Social welfare, education, and the health service will suffer least, government press spokesman Andrzej Zarembski assured.

Ministers also discussed the current difficulties in trade with the Soviet Union and east European countries. Imports from the Soviet Union were down by almost 50 percent in the first half; exports were down by just under 24 percent. Turnover with former CEMA countries dropped by half as well. The exchange of grain and meat for raw materials from the Soviet Union has not yet begun, Minister for Foreign Economic Cooperation Dariusz Ledworowski said. The government put the minister of finance under the obligation to regulate mutual liabilities as quickly as possible, particularly the surplus in transfer rubles for Poland, which arose in 1990. The minister for foreign economic cooperation was enjoined to conclude agreements with individual republics, and the minister of industry to draw up principles for modernizing enterprises specializing in export production and export to the Soviet market.

Walesa Urges End to Strikes, Disputes

*LD1908122591 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network
in Polish 1005 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] A moment ago Andrzej Drzycimski, at Belweder, conveyed to us a statement by President Lech Walesa:

[Drzycimski] The situation in the USSR is significantly important for our neighborhood. It may affect our mutual relations. We want these to be friendly. As a sovereign state, we shall continue to build democracy and go on reforming our economy. At this special time, calm and discretion are required of Poles. May political quarrels and disputes settle down, and may striking workers renew negotiations for a rapid settlement of even the most difficult problems. May unity and responsibility for our state prevail.

As the President of the Polish Republic, elected by the popular will, I shall with all my strength fulfil the constitutional obligations, ensuring protection for the interests of the Polish people and state.

Signed: Lech Walesa, president of the Polish Republic.

At the same time, I would like to add that, early this morning, the President met Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki for a long discussion. He also talked to the ministers responsible for the state of security in the country—Kolodziejczyk, national defense minister; Henryk Majewski, internal affairs minister; Minister Lech Kaczynski, who is responsible for the state of security. Furthermore, he spoke by telephone and reported the situation to General Jaruzelski, Mr. Kwasniewski, Speaker Stelmachowski and Speaker Kozakiewicz. Right now he is continuing a series of telephone conversations, including conversations with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Marian Krzaklewski, Mr. Moczulski, Mr. Slisz, and Mr. Janowski, and many others are envisaged.

Protesting Transport Workers Set Up Interim Board

*LD1708214291 Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT
17 Aug 91*

[Text] Bialystok, Aug. 17—Workers of the Bialystok Municipal Transport Enterprise (MPK), on strike for 46 days now, issued Saturday a communique stating that the striking committee is being transformed into an interim workers board and is taking over the property of the MPK.

Representatives of the interim board told a press conference the decision was provoked by the hitherto attitude on the part of the municipal authorities and by determination to protect their jobs. These arguments were included in messages sent by the strikers Saturday to President Lech Walesa and Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.

The board said it is shifting from the sit-in to an active strike which means that the city transport may start regular runs in the coming days but profits would go directly to the workers board and not to the municipal budget.

Army Accused of 'Violation' of Apolitical Status

*AU1708133491 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY
in Polish 14-15 Aug 91 p 1*

["PS" report: "The Army Printed 'LETTER X'"]

[Text] The June-July issue of LETTER X, the official publication of Stanislaw Tyminski's Party X, was printed at the printing plant of the Warsaw Military District at the Citadel in Warsaw.

This issue contains, among other things, a cartoon of Lech Walesa (as constitutional head of the Armed Forces). The accompanying article describes him as a puppet and uneducated person. Several articles contain clearly anti-Semitic tones.

The director of the printing plant told us that LETTER X was printed on spare equipment, as a prepaid service. He said that his superiors had instructed him to perform this service. However, Marcin Nawrot, from the Press

Department of the Ministry of National Defense's Education Section, said that the management of the printing plant had decided to print the newspaper.

Ireneusz Czyzewski, press spokesman of the Ministry of National Defense, agreed that printing LETTER X is a violation of the army's apolitical status. He also said that the Warsaw Military District chief of staff has forbidden the printing plants in his charge to print any other material pertaining to political parties.

Poll Shows Soldiers Critical of Army Service

AU1708133091 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA
in Polish 13 Aug 91 p 1

[Dariusz Fedor report: "The Army Does Not Like Itself"]

[Text] Almost 70 percent of professional soldiers think the Army is a waste of time. Five percent think the opposite. Only 2 percent believe in total commitment to training and service. These are the results of the latest survey by the Military Institute of Sociological Surveys, carried out on soldiers from 41 selected units between December 1990 and July 1991.

The church enjoys the Army's greatest trust; 60 percent of the military respondents said they trust it the most, followed by the Sejm, government, Senate, Solidarity, and the police. The Army is in seventh place!

Only 10.3 of the respondents declared a "full and determined readiness to defend the Army's good name," and 18.6 percent declared a partial readiness to do so. The percentage of soldiers willing to defend the Army's good name has declined steadily over the years. In 1985, 35 percent of soldiers were willing to do so, but in 1990 this percentage dropped to 14 percent.

Almost every other soldier thinks that, in the country's present economic situation and the international situation in general, military service is a waste of time. However, a survey carried out among young people of predraft age, i.e. schoolboys and students, revealed that only 7.6 percent of these are in favor of a total abolition of compulsory military service.

Thirty percent of soldiers still feel difficulty in adapting to life in the Army. Asked what the most difficult aspects of army life were, 41 percent of them said parting with one's family and friends; 24 percent said relationships with superiors, 22 percent said harsh conditions of guard duty and other duties, 22 percent said the lack of physical and mental recreational opportunities. Only 8 percent said that the worst aspect was "bad coexistence with other soldiers."

Fifty-five percent of the respondents condemned the living accommodations, 59 percent condemned the standards of hygiene, and 65 percent condemned the medical care. Food scored the highest dislike—91 percent of the respondents condemned it.

"The bonds of sentiment between young people and their country are withering away, and the system of values is dominated by materialistic considerations," say the authors of the survey. "The present generation contains a marked shortage of patriotism."

The Institute blames the dislike of military service on, among other things, "the long years of bringing up people in a spirit of peace."

"Young people take Poland's peace for granted, as something that requires no effort," concludes the survey.

The latest survey by the Public Opinion Research Center indicates that the Army enjoys society's greatest support. Sixty percent of respondents praised it.

Bielecki Visits Border With Soviet Union

LD1808224791 Warsaw PAP in English 2148 GMT
18 Aug 91

[Text] Suwalki, Aug. 18—Polish Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki on Sunday visited the frontier crossing at Ogrodniki (Suwalki Province), and met with officials from the Polish and Soviet frontier guards, as part of his investigations into the current conditions of the Polish customs service.

Crossing by foot to Lazdijai in Lithuania, he noted that it takes on average three days to cross into Poland, a problem compounded by the fact that the Lithuanian Government and the Soviet authorities both conduct separate customs investigations.

Customs officers told the prime minister that similar delays occurred at all crossing points on the Polish-Soviet frontier. They also drew attention to problems which will arise out of the new customs regulations, which will come into effect on August 19.

Meanwhile, Poland continues to face problems at all its frontier crossings. On Saturday night in Szczecin Province, eight persons from Romania and the Soviet Union, were arrested while attempting to cross illegally into Germany to look for work.

Also in Szczecin Province, a man wanted by police in Lublin drove a stolen car through the Polish-German crossing point at Kolbaskowo. A German police search is under way for him.

At Medyka (Przemysl Province) on the Polish-Soviet frontier, the average waiting time on the Soviet side had declined to 10 hours. Earlier this week, when Soviet pilgrims were travelling to Czestochowa to see the pope, waiting times reached an average 160 hours.

Parties' Reaction to Privatization Law Reported*AU1708150791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1334 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/8/1991—President Iliescu's decision to promulgate the privatisation law, that is "to cross the Rubicon" as somebody termed it, has elicited various comments from opposition parties.

Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party (PNT-cd) President Corneliu Coposu said: "I am surprised at and unfavorably impressed by the rashness with which the president of Romania decided to promulgate the law. I was still hoping that the law would be remanded to the chambers for the amendment of Chapters 3 and 4 especially, which are obviously contrary to national interests." President Iliescu's decision to endorse it "induced bitter feelings and the impression that he surrendered to the executive power."

Social-Democratic Party (Traditional) President Lucian Cornescu said: "The endorsement will fetch the president a negative response from inside and a positive effect from abroad, if we consider the interest of foreign investors in an appropriate legislative background." "I think that the supreme organ of a country's leadership does not have to justify its actions, to explain why. But the law itself is bad, be it for the mere reason that gives poor motivation to the working people."

PNT-cd Secretary General Ion Lup said in his turn: "We are not satisfied, mainly with the freely dispensed 30 per cent, which has been selected to stand for the least productive part of Romanian industry, and which will derive its value from the stock exchange transactions, as the law claims. The consequence of this will be depreciation and, therefore, the selling of title deeds for a mere nothing." "In our opinion, the government and parliament have done each other a bad turn, because the public will be dissatisfied."

Traian Dudas, vice president of the Socialist Party of Labor considers that: "The privatisation law is not the result of the Romanian specialists' thinking, but a foreign idea, the like of which cannot be found anywhere in the world. It is, therefore, an 'original experiment' at the expense of the Romanian people, because it pursues political and not economic aims for the benefit of Romania." "We are of the opinion that neither parliament nor the government have the right to decide about the people's wealth. The sale of the national heritage should be decided by no one else than the people itself, in a referendum."

Romanian National Unity Party (PUNR) President Radu Ceantea has a more balanced view: "The privatisation law has been promulgated and, from the very extensive analysis the president himself gave it on television, evident signs of doubt came through. But, under his signature, the bill is now a law and, *dura lex, sed lex* (a law is law)! The will of the electorate determined the FSN exclusiveness in politics and legislation." "I shall

have no satisfaction if this law operates below expectations or not at all. But god forbid that it should operate against the nation!"

Civic Alliance Party (PAC) Vice-President Stelian Tanase stated: "The privatisation law hides basic contradictions, which the administrative power will not fail to turn to its profit." "As a matter of fact, the parliamentarians found themselves before a 'fait accompli' and that is why we think the law will meet with resistance in practice. Through it, the government aims at reaching targets: barter a favorable international image and, at home, satisfy the political clients of the ruling party."

Romanian Ecologist Party Executive Secretary Adrian Pantaescu thinks that "The present privatization formula is perfunctory as long as muniment holders have no definite idea of what they hold, therefore the concept chosen disfavors the population and leaves the greatest share of the national wealth in the hands of the state."

Press Assesses Privatization Law*AU1608165791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1510 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/8/1991—The promulgation of the privatisation law by President Ion Iliescu and the motivations he brought to its support in a television speech Wednesday [14 August] evening triggered different reactions in the press.

TINERETUL LIBER (Bucharest daily) writes in an editorial titled "the president no longer smiled": "*Dura lex, sed lex*, therefore Romanians will have to take, like it or not, the only privatisation formula considered to be appropriate, without knowing if that is going to make them rich or leave them as they are, that is much under the acceptable limit of poverty in a civilised country. Who will get hold of the remaining 70 percent (of state property), how will the five private property funds be managed, how will privatisation fare in the next few years—these are all questions that will blacken many more pages from now on in the press of various leanings."

"In his comments upon the law," further writes the newspaper, "the president sounded more convincing, much more in tune with the aims of his function and the moment chosen to address the nation, at a time of holiday calm, as also well timed. Besides, from everything he said, the president emerged as an advocate of the reform, putting thus an end to rumours and speculations on his alleged leaning towards the conservative group represented by the to chambers' presidents and on his suspected opposition to the reform-minded government team of Prime Minister Petre Roman. Facts, this time, show the opposite and politically speaking, the president has just on himself a precious good mark, considering the intricacies and difficulties awaiting us in the near future."

DREPTATEA, National Peasant Party organ, writes, under the heading "The President's Defiance," that "after two weeks of 'in-depth reading,' Mr. Iliescu decides: The law is good, as the FSN [National Salvation Front] wanted it, even if the National Peasant Party, the National Liberal Party, Social Democratic Party of Romania, Magyar Democratic Union of Romania, Romanian National Unity Party, the union cartels Alfa, Fratia, Hercules and millions of working people said 'no' to this sham privatization meant to sustain neocommunism with the obvious purpose of enabling the ruling party, that cheated the revolution and the whole people, to (?achieve) economic power.

We hoped the acting president of the country would assess the country's future with clear-mindedness at least in the last hour. Well, he did not? But he did find justifications. That these justifications are far from the truth, ignoring our fate, he did prove to us on 14 August 1991 when he endorsed it, giving green light to a law that will soon show its teeth.

From the hasty appearance of a smileless president on television in a special news programme, we gathered that the future of Romania was sealed."

Coposu Remarks at Constanta Meeting Reported

*AU1808175491 Bucharest DREPTATEA
in Romanian 14 Aug 91 p 1*

["'Rallied Around Ideas of Justice and Democracy'—from the speech delivered by Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant (Christian-Democratic) Party," in Constanta on 10 August]

[Text] ... We are proceeding forward, without compromise and without departing from the principles that guide our party: true democracy, Christian morality, social justice, and enlightened patriotism. From the very beginning, we have insisted on the unification of all opposition forces to prevent the country's decline toward a new totalitarian regime. As early as February 1990, we suggested an economic reconstruction, starting with actions to return all agricultural lands to their owners; we called for the return—without conditions or restrictions—of the confiscated urban real estate, of commercial units, and of industrial properties to ensure, through private ownership, an opposition to the omnipresent and omnipotent state, the sole shareholder and owner, an opposition that would permit the proper functioning of the demand and supply law. We asked that liberalization should be divided into stages so that the public would not be confronted with a financial shock with which they cannot cope. An imperfect, incompetent land law was endorsed, a law that brings about dissatisfaction and confrontation in villages. The privatization law has been worked out, a law that instead of representing the real transition to a market economy, actually represents the transition of the majority of the state's assets to the hands of certain people who belong to the ruling party. Therefore, we protest against the land law and against

the aberrant privatization law. First, we think of the interests of the great masses of people. Viewing the impossible situation in which pensioners find themselves makes our hearts ache. We protest the lack of concern for the former political detainees, who should represent the real parliament of the current Romania. We protest the exaggerated and artificial increase of prices, while salaries lag far behind and people cannot cope with the prices on the Romanian market.

We are a party of social harmony. Therefore, we oppose all artificial interethnic, inter-religious instigations, and we resent the hatred sown against social categories.

We are convinced that only in unity, through joint efforts, can we transform our Romania, which was the most collectivized among communist countries, can we steer it toward a normal life, and make it prosperous, well organized, and able to walk with its head high in Europe. We have diligent workers and skilled technicians and engineers, and we hope that shortly we will reach a level that we deserve in accordance with our country's natural conditions: our people's intelligence and diligence. Unfortunately, a group of ambitious people are at the helm of our country, people who confiscated power, ignoring the objectives for which our young people sacrificed their lives; they want to prolong our agony by staying in power, trying in the first stage to enrich the structures on which they want to rely, and in the second stage to perpetuate a dictatorship with which the Romanian nation is fed up.

Our party continues to advance in accordance with the principle of national confidence, and as early as last year, it initiated cooperation with all opposition forces, so that united, those parties could oppose the mafia that is ruling today and could display a force capable of halting the perpetuation of the neocommunist dictatorship. Unfortunately, we have not been successful in our attempts to unite the opposition. However, the first modest step in this direction was taken last fall through the establishment of the Antitotalitarian Front of Romania. We hope that this means a good start. It was decided that this united opposition should present one list at the next administrative elections and should support the candidates that are in the best position from the point of view of prestige, thus oppose the communist structures with a proper alternative.

Our party has made considerable efforts to be in touch with all Western countries. We are in contact with 119 Christian democratic parties throughout the world. We have attended international congresses in Brussels, Geneva, Luxembourg, Rome, and Paris, where we were very well received; we are considered a serious opposition party, and we benefit from credibility and the credit of all Western countries.

We fight for Romania's integrity up to the ethnic borders of the Romanian people. Bessarabia and Bukovina are Romanian lands. We resolutely oppose the ratification of the treaty concluded by the current cryptocommunist

political power with the government of the Soviet Union, before a note is included in it on the territorial conflict between Romania and the Soviet Union and before the need is mentioned to immediately return North Bukovina, the Hertza region, and the Danube delta islands, as well as our national treasure, to Romania—that would solve the serious problems that currently are confronting the Romanian economy...

Rallied around the ideas of justice and democracy, we are confident that we will succeed in our struggle.

Chief Rabbi Sends Letter to Vatra Romaneasca

AU1608134591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0935 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/16/1991—In an open letter addressed to the 'Vatra Romaneasca' Union in daily DIMINEATA, Chief Rabbi Dr. Moses Rosen of the Mosaic cult in Romania says that the starting point of the protest printed early last July in the above-mentioned newspaper "is basically false" and its content "relies only on a misinterpretation of things."

Dr. Moses Rosen who—as he mentions in the letter—has been "chief of cult and has for 53 years been at the service of the country to which he did and does numerous services," points out that "it is not true that either directly or indirectly, in speech or written, he ever has made the Romanians feel guilty."

"I have always clearly distinguished between the assassin fascists and the respective peoples, Romanian, Hungarian and even German," showed Dr. Moses Rosen, stressing that "these incitations, in the most classical communist style," "are profoundly harmful."

Presenting his ideas publicized lately about "the hundreds of thousands (yes, I repeat it, hundreds of thousands) of martyrs," about the campaign of "punishing the victim, launched by the country's democratic forces," Dr. Moses Rosen invites the leadership of 'Vatra Romaneasca' "to examine together, sine ira et studio, what is to be done in future, in order to establish a climate of peaceful and harmonious coexistence, a fertile collaboration for the homeland's benefit."

PSM's Chances in Political Arena Assessed

AU1608133991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
0940 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/8/1991—To daily 'CURIERUL NATIONAL', "it is clear that there are people that turn increasingly to the Socialist Party of Labour [PSM]." These days, the author of the commentary assesses, in the government lobbies, the PSM was credited with 7-8 per cent of the electorate votes, and the most pessimistic spoke of 15 per cent. The very fact that the PSM decided to hold a congress, the author highlights "is a proof that it has become powerful enough to step on the political scene."

The commentary produces telling figures: 3,000 PSM members at 'Electroputere' Works in Craiova, the existence of PSM branches in all units of the big Iron-and-Steel Combine in Galati, similar branches in all mining localities and units in the Jiu Valley.

"It is quite sure that what brings people to the PSM is disappointment, insecurity." The PSM has not to work hard in order to capture the wave of disappointment generated not only by the reform but also by the mistakes of the power." But, he adds, "problems only start"... "because the PSM may become a ruling party without representing by this also a real alternative to the development of the Romanian society."

Recalling that at the recent PSM congress pluralism was admitted, as well as the existence of various types of property, of religious beliefs, etc, the author comments: "From this to transforming in actual fact the party, the mind inside it and especially its public image, to make the citizen see that formation as a political force that looks to the future and is apt to meet the requirements of that future there is a long and thorny way."

Presenting another hypothesis, the author of the commentary considers that "it is not at all impossible that the present PSM members wish to do what they thought 10-15 years ago but were unable, because of the dictatorship. And, if they are determined to do it, then a real motive force can be triggered, true to reform, that must not be disregarded..."

"There are in that party honest people sincerely attached to the national ideals, people that are hurt by everything that happens today in the country. If this good and clean stock, to our mind ('CURIERUL NATIONAL') will prevail inside the PSM, then the formation will have a healthy and organic evolution and occupy a certain place in the country's political arena," concludes 'CURIERUL NATIONAL'.

Zbaganu on Need for Political Balance

AU1608153691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1500 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/8/1991—There is a tragical need for a Communist Party in Romania, maintains Engineer Virgiliu Zbaganu, chairman of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] organizing committee in an interview with the daily TINERETUL LIBER. The political spectrum in Romania is highly disequibrated, and for the left-wing to exist it should not only cover a certain number of groupings but also have a certain significance among the electorate, opines Mr. Zbaganu.

Expressing the opinions of all the organizing committee members, V. Zbaganu underscores: One should analyse what was wrong and what was good in the past. We shall do it, because we must clean the garbage. But ... for the time being, while trying to wash the kid, it is thrown away altogether with the water.

Referring to the bankruptcy of the communist ideology, Mr. Zbaganu bemoans the fact that ideology had a single pattern, the totalitarian one, emphasizing that there are no sources of such a pattern in the original ideology. The totalitarian pattern is an outcome of historical practice, shows Mr. Zbaganu.

The RCP doctrine cautiously keeps such concepts as class struggle and rejects as forced the theory according to which it would be behind any social phenomenon, states the RCP leader. We are for a pluralist society, for a market economy, says he, specifying that the centralized economy system started virtually to lose ground by 1970. The RCP is not against social differences provided that they result from work, the question which can be raised being one of equality of chances.

Ceausescu was not a communist, opines Mr. Zbaganu, as an anticommunist. Nobody has ever done so much evil to communism than the regime that died in December 1989.

As for responsibility for the past, Mr. Zbaganu specifies that the RCP assumes it for all its deeds, but considers that account should be taken of individual responsibility. To each one according to one's deeds and not an overall judgment of those who were and are Communist Party members.

According to his statement, Virgiliu Zbaganu is an engineer, a 1979 graduate from the Faculty of Automatics. Now 37, he considers himself a Marxist for about [figure indistinct] years. There is a continuity between my past and present attitude which was hostile to Ceausescu's dictatorship. Now I am an RCP member because I have always been a communist.

Iliescu Accused of Complicity With Securitate

AU1708150391 Bucharest DREPTATEA
in Romanian 8 Aug 91 p 3

[Constanta Munteanu article: "The President and the Securitate"]

[Excerpts] In February 1990, two high-ranking officers, Major General Dan Gabor and Colonel Lieutenant Mircea Chelaru affirmed that there are attempts in Romania to compromise the Army and that a coalition of former Securitate people, Ceausescu's nomenklatura, and mafiosi are behind the violent incidents. [passage omitted]

During the same period, Iliescu and his "miners" did not show the slightest concern with eliminating the Securitate and condemning the Communist Party. Instead, hand-in-hand they tried to compromise the chances for democratizing the Army (the specter of "military dictatorship") and the historic parties (which, no more and no less apparently wanted to turn Romania "into a new Lebanon"). Actually, Iliescu and his "miners" did not offer us anything but to choose between the Securitate and the Iron Guards, between communism and fascism, by identifying—in a way we are fed up with—"democracy" with "socialism."

At the meeting with the delegation of the CADA [Democratic Action Committee of the Army], Gelu Voican, who at that time was first deputy prime minister of the provisional government, said that Iliescu is dealing with the problems of the Army. [passage omitted]

Analysts will have to find the answer to a strange situation in which—after the anticommunist revolution—a former activist and communist minister was in charge of problems concerning national defense and the political police. [passage omitted]

The Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]—the continuance in body and soul of the Securitate—was under Ion Iliescu's control from the very beginning. Messrs. Iliescu and Magureanu actually continued the fruitful cooperation that had begun during an underground plot against Ceausescu, for restructuring communism, and making Romania once again a satellite of the USSR. [passage omitted]

The Berevoiesti case very clearly raises the problem of Mr. Ion Iliescu's responsibility for the actions of the Securitate and of the SRI. If it wants to be granted a certificate of democracy, the parliament should not limit itself to the Berevoiesti incidents as such, but should check how the political police of the Communist Party was dissolved and what complicity there was between its representatives and the current president of our state.

Fota on Positive Trend of Foreign Trade

AU1608170091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1553 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 16/8/1991—At a news conference Minister of Trade and Tourism Constantin Fota assessed in the positive the evolution of the Romanian foreign trade in July 1991.

Showing that exports have registered the highest levels since the beginning of the year—306 million dollars and 44 million rubles, imports being worth 317 million dollars and 36 million rubles respectively—Minister Fota stressed that although the trade balance in July was equilibrated, the respective equilibrium was low as to previous years' achievements.

In the seven months elapsed since the beginning of the year Romania exported 1,785 million dollars and 706 million rubles worth of commodities importing goods worth 98 million dollars and 51 million rubles respectively.

At the end of July 1991 the arrears in sugar supply to the population were of about 8,000 tonnes, Constantin Fota, minister of commerce and tourism, informed. This figure represents the Romanian population's necessities of sugar for more than two months.

Speaking about the perspective situation in the sugar supply, Minister Constantin Fota specified that 9,751 tonnes of imported sugar entered the country in the first half of August to which other 500 tonnes add from the state reserves.

Until August 31 other 45,845 tonnes of sugar are to be imported.

Marculescu on Farmers' Pensions, Food, Prices

*AU1708145991 Bucharest ADEVARUL
in Romanian 10 Aug 91 p 2*

[Interview with Acting Minister of Agriculture Petru Marculescu by Aurel Papadiuc and Viorel Salagean; place and date not given: "The Merry-Go-Round of Prices Stifles Agriculture"]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] How will the situation of old-age pensioners of the former agricultural production cooperatives and that of actual farmers who toiled for 40 years in agricultural cooperatives be solved, many of whom are now without any land because they did not possess land before either?

[Marculescu] Although this is not our ministry's task, because we have received many complaints, we have intervened with those who deal with this question on the pensions of these farmers. It seems that at this point the problem cannot be solved correctly. This is the reason why we, too, will concern ourselves directly with this question. I am talking about the creation within our ministry of a social service whose task it is to check the way these debts are paid to rural pensioners and the way certain social problems are solved, not only in the case of elderly people, but also in the case of those who are working under privatization conditions. Moreover, through the privatization department operating in our ministry, we would like to watch over—if possible—the procedure of granting pensions. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What happens to those farmers who were poor when they joined and left the cooperatives?

[Marculescu] I believe that there are resources for these people, too. The Land Law is comprehensive and includes even provisions whereby land will be given from the reserve of the land of each commune to those who did not possess any land before, although it is not obligatory for everyone to own land. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Can the land be sold?

[Marculescu] Of course! They can do what they want with their property. Land is a commodity that is subject to the laws of the market economy. We are now working on the assessment of the value of lands.

[Reporter] Speaking of the current situation of the agricultural producer, will our own output provide enough food for us?

[Marculescu] If we refer to the current stage, then I can say for sure that there is no problem with the quantity of food for the population. I am not talking only about bakery products, but particularly about milk and meat, which is the basic nourishment of Romanians. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Do you intend to go further?

[Marculescu] Of course. No one is more interested in the producer coming to the market with his final product, and not the raw material, than we are. The more intermediaries there are, the higher the prices—to the detriment of the buyer. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] We do not want to hide that we were surprised to see you on television shortly after your nomination to the position of minister. What made you appear on television?

[Marculescu] I wanted people to see that those active in the Ministry of Agriculture are not inactive. I announced a few practical things that will be carried out in the coming days. [passage omitted]

Federal

Mesic Ponders Future as Federal President

LD1808154391 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Passages in quotation marks recorded]

[Text] If the cease-fire decision continues to be met with no respect I will reconsider whether my further presence in the Yugoslav Presidency is justified, SFRY Presidency President Stipe Mesic said today at a news conference in Zagreb. Darko Herceg reports.

After citing the main points of yesterday's session of the Yugoslav Presidency Stipe Mesic went on to say:

[Mesic] "Perhaps what is missing from the statement of the Yugoslav Presidency is more interesting than the statement itself and that is the fact that Admiral Brovet said at the presidency session that the Army had been given no orders to enter Okucani since there had been no clashes in Okucani and there had been no need to separate any warring sides. The Army, however, entered with 17 tanks and operated accordingly. It also operated from the Bosnian side, firing from its artillery pieces and tanks into Croatia. This should also be investigated. The commission will have to establish this, and those who reportedly used the armed forces without authorization will have to be brought to account."

[Herceg] Replying to journalists' questions, Mesic also reflected on his moves in the Yugoslav Presidency, among other things, regarding the evident continuation of aggression against Croatia and noncompliance with the cease-fire decision.

[Mesic] If this truce does not succeed I see no reason for me to carry on providing legitimacy for this presidency while some military commanders can use the Army, attack police stations, eventually bring about destruction and casualties. This is why I have announced that because of my conscience I will decide very soon for how long I can provide such legitimacy for this moratorium on which we agreed. If, however, all the parties do not implement what we agreed on, and that was an absolute cease-fire, the aggressor has obviously not been named yet. [sentence as heard] We must be aware that in Croatia there is a dirty war, an aggressive war, which is remote-controlled not from Croatia but from Belgrade while the struggle to enable all Serbs to live in one state is nothing but a struggle for Croatia's territories. This is sheer aggression. [Word indistinct] aggressor must not be rewarded, nor must this one. My further survival in the presidency legalizes in effect this dirty war in Croatia. This is why I believe I will soon make my decision about this."

[Herceg] Stipe Mesic went on to reply to about 10 questions posed by the journalists, reiterating his well-known opinion that withdrawing the Army to barracks would quickly resolve this situation in Croatia because

Serbian extremists would be deprived of decisive assistance and support. Mesic also said that he did not believe that there is a possibility of a frontal clash between the Army and Croatia's armed forces and that the coming session of the presidency next week will be a successful one only if it understands that Serbia's aggression against Croatia cannot be legitimized and rewarded.

Toward the end of the news conference Mesic was handed a telegram in which Milan Martić [head of Knin police] from Knin announced his ultimatum that the police station in Kijevo must be disbanded within the next 48 hours. Otherwise his police will destroy it.

Presidency Demands Restoration of Cease-Fire

LD1708223191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2136 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency, following a request from the Croatian government and SFRY Presidency member Vasil Tupurkovski, held an extraordinary session this evening. The session was attended by the SFRY Assembly president, the federal secretary for internal affairs, the deputy federal secretary for national defense, the deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs and an assistant of the Croatian minister of internal affairs.

The SFRY Presidency examined the implementation of a decision on the cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia. It was concluded that, as reported, the cease-fire is not respected and that new casualties were caused in numerous conflicts over the past two days.

The SFRY Presidency demands that cease-fire be immediately restored and strictly obeyed and that warring sides obey obligations and guarantees given when the decision on cease-fire was adopted.

To this end, cease-fire monitoring groups should begin working immediately, upon which an agreement was reached with the government of the Republic of Croatia. The SFRY Presidency calls on the warring sides to enable and ensure the uninterrupted work and complete safety of the monitoring groups.

The SFRY Presidency calls on the cease-fire commission to intensify its work and create conditions for the cease-fire to be fully respected with its immediate presence at the flashpoints of crisis, in cooperation with the Republic of Croatia and all sides involved.

At a request of the Croatian government, the SFRY Presidency was informed about and examined the situation created by armed conflicts in Okucani. A conclusion was reached that the working group of the SFRY Presidency's cease-fire commission should immediately visit Okucani, establish the state of facts and inform the SFRY Presidency on its findings.

The SFRY Presidency received with regret a report on the attack on a helicopter carrying EC observers, and in

connection with that ordered an investigation to be carried out so all circumstances leading to this incident are established.

Foreign Secretariat Spokesman's Interview Cited

LD1808152491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1416 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Srdjan Kerim said in an interview published in the Sarajevo Daily OSLOBODJENJE today that his ministry "is unaware of the contents of the talks the European 'troika' last held with representatives of the republics."

Conversely, Kerim said, "perhaps they also did not know what we discussed with the 'troika,' ... Consequently it is not odd that everyone subsequently gave differing statements, as each of us knows only one piece, each has seen only his own part of the movie. Only the European Community's representatives know it all."

He said that the Yugoslav republics were pursuing independent foreign policies and that there had to be far greater synchronization between the Federal and the republican authorities in their work.

The world should take part in resolving the Yugoslav crisis, but it is wrong to think that the foreign factor can settle the fundamental question—the future shape of Yugoslavia. That is for the Yugoslavs themselves to decide, Kerim said.

"A historic agreement, or lack of one, is the key issue whose future rests on the elected representatives of the Yugoslav republics and peoples. This also relates to the constant bargaining with Yugoslavia's internal and external frontiers. Any serious student of Yugoslavia, its history and the international milieu, knows that one cannot be resolved without the other without provoking serious conflicts with tragic consequences for the Yugoslav peoples," the Yugoslav foreign secretariat spokesman concluded.

Deputy Prime Minister Sees 'Collapse' of Economy

LD1808153491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1224 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandar Mitrovic told TANJUG on Sunday that the Yugoslav economy is threatened by collapse if it continues to be neglected due to the ethnic conflicts in the country.

Mitrovic warned that as of October, production is likely to decline monthly by around 50 percent, leaving uncertain what and how much the country will be able to export.

It is unrealistic to expect economic aid from the West since one of its aims is to continue draining the already impoverished East, Mitrovic said.

"To put it simply, the west aspires to get the upper hand of this area, to control and impose its own policy on it," he added.

Yugoslavia has so far regularly fulfilled its fixed and guaranteed obligations towards foreign creditors, obligations behind which stands the Federation or the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Mitrovic pointed out.

The reprogramming of debts with the Paris Club blocked, however, by the stands of the European Community and the world because of fighting in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. [sentence as received]

Mitrovic recalled that the Federal government last month set forth a mini program for the country's economic recovery during the three month moratorium.

The Brioni Declaration on a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis, signed on July 7 by the main political factors in Yugoslavia and the European Community 'troika' of ministers, provides for a three-month suspension of the unilateral decisions by the republics of Slovenia and Croatia on secession from Yugoslavia.

The fact that the country's top leadership is yet to discuss the long delayed program is the best proof that the economy has been side-tracked, Mitrovic said.

According to him, "a speedy settlement of the Yugoslav political crisis is of vital importance for halting Yugoslavia's economic collapse....The way out is in peace, dialogue and in addressing production and the piled up problems of daily life."

Foreign Secretariat Reacts to Gorbachev Removal

LD1908115991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1110 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, 19 Aug (TANJUG)—We are following with great attention and concern the development of the situation in the USSR, a country which because of its size has enormous importance for Europe and the world, and the stability of which is relevant to stability in the world, especially in Europe. This was stated to TANJUG today by the official press representative of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

Officer Denies Army Plans To Attack Croatia

LD1608155891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1253 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—"Bulwark One and Bulwark Two, plans for the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] to carry out an all-out attack on Croatia and then on Slovenia, do not exist." This was stressed at a news conference today Lieutenant-Colonel-General Andrija Raseta, deputy commander of the fifth military district.

Raseta described such information, which is being disseminated by the Slovenian Defense Ministry, as part of the psychological and propaganda war against the YPA.

Gen. Raseta said, referring to claims that the YPA would allegedly attack Croatia on 15 August, that these proved to be unfounded as a dozen times before. He also denied Slovenian Defense Ministry claims that weapons with nuclear warheads are stored in that republic. The YPA does not have and does not possess nuclear weapons, Raseta said.

As for returning captured weapons to the YPA and withdrawing from Slovenia, in general, Gen. Raseta stressed that certain authorities in Slovenia continue to carry out a calculated attack and wage psychological war against the YPA. He stressed that Slovenia is not observing the agreements and is almost symbolically returning technical and material resources. Slovenia is returning these to the YPA while virtually ignoring combat equipment, and what has already been returned is previously incapacitated and damaged. Journalists were shown video recordings to illustrate this.

Gen. Andrija Raseta also strongly denied other claims and statements which are part of the psychological war against the YPA. For example, it is untrue that two Army MiG aircraft landed at Villach, Austria, during the Slovenian conflict or that YPA members are destroying buildings and equipment as they leave Slovenia. In this regard, Raseta mentioned the Bac firing range.

As for Army apartments in Slovenia, Gen. Raseta said that they were built exclusively with YPA funds and that every YPA employee contributed 4.5 percent of his personal income for this purpose. This means that more than 8,000 such apartments in Slovenia remain YPA property until this issue is resolved. On the question of the approximately 4,100 Army pensioners in Slovenia and 11,000 Army welfare beneficiaries, Gen. Andrija Raseta said that they certainly will not be left to their own resources.

Air Force Confirms Firing Near Stara Gradiska

*LD1708222291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2118 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 17 (TANJUG)—The information service of the Yugoslav Air Force confirmed this evening TANJUG's report about today's activities by the Air Force in the region near the town of Stara Gradiska in the Republic of Croatia.

The Air Force said that 'on Saturday, August 17, at 16:57 local time (14:57 GMT), during a reconnaissance mission north of a bridge over the River Sava near Stara Gradiska the pilot noticed tracer ammunition fired against his aircraft, avoided the hostile fire, and noticed the attacker and weapon on a prison building. The pilot countered with rocket fire.'

'During the next reconnaissance mission by two aircraft in the same area the planes were once again fired on with small arms from the same building at 20:00 local time (18:00 GMT). On this occasion the crews also responded with rockets. We have no information about the accuracy and effects of the rockets,' the Air Force said.

International

EC Envoy Meets With President Kucan

*LD1608230191 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 2000 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Drago Fis report]

[Text] Henry Wijnaendts, Dutch ambassador and special EC envoy, has been in Yugoslavia since last night. The purpose of his arrival is to draw Yugoslav politicians' attention to the expiry of the deadline for the beginning of negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia which has been set by the CSCE and to ask them to come to the negotiating table. Last night, Wijnaendts held talks with representatives of the Yugoslav Government. Today, he met with members of the SFRY Presidency, and in the late afternoon he arrived at Stermol Castle near Kranj for talks with Slovene Presidency President Milan Kucan.

[Fis] On behalf of the EC, Ambassador Wijnaendts assessed today's talks at Stermol as good. The EC wishes and insists that we, in Yugoslavia, start to negotiate on the future of Yugoslavia. The date, 15 August, was already set but now it is likely that negotiations will begin on 20 August. The EC's conditions are very (?basic), the ambassador said. Borders cannot be changed by force and full protection must be ensured for all—the minorities and individuals in Yugoslavia. On these conditions, the EC too will participate in the negotiations. Above all, the Brioni Declaration, that is the Brioni agreement, must be implemented.

Slovenian President Milan Kucan said that Slovenia has been implementing the Brioni Declaration and that it is fully willing to implement those essential questions that are part of the Brioni Declaration. However, Slovenia also stands by its sovereign decisions, including the decision on secession, that is the proclamation of independent and sovereign Slovenia on 26 June this year. Of course, even before that, Slovenia was prepared to negotiate with all Yugoslav republics about the future links with them.

However, in view of the present experience of Slovenia, when the attitude toward the negotiations in other parts of Yugoslavia has been mainly negative, Slovenia considers that the talks should also be attended by the politicians and experts of the European Community. At present, Slovenia is firmly (?implementing) the decisions of the Brioni agreements. Kucan told Ambassador Wijnaendts that this also applies to the Army's complaints

that Slovenia is somehow obstructing the Army withdrawal. He rejected these complaints and said that it is in Slovenia's national interest that the Army and all its equipment leave Slovenia, never to return. This is how President Kucan defined the Slovene national interests. However, the Slovene national interests also include negotiations with the participation of the European Community.

Confers With Izetbegovic

LD1808095991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0921 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Ambassador Henry Wijnaendts, special envoy of president of the European Community (EC) Council of Ministers Hans van den Broek, told Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic that talks on Yugoslavia's future must begin immediately, otherwise the EC will review the possibility of convening an international conference on Yugoslavia.

In talks with Izetbegovic last night, Wijnaendts pointed out two essential EC principles - the impermissibility of the use of force in the possible changes of internal borders and guarantees of the rights of all the peoples and national minorities in Yugoslavia.

Wijnaendts stated that he hoped the talks on Yugoslavia's future would begin already on Tuesday or Wednesday.

He said that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Izetbegovic have so far confirmed participation in the talks.

Wijnaendts will today visit Titograd (Montenegro) and Skopje (Macedonia).

No Injuries in Helicopter Incident

LD1608141791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1351 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—As Croatian radio reported this afternoon, quoting its reporter and his report obtained from the Novska Territorial Defense Headquarters, a helicopter of the European observer mission came under fire this morning between 1100 and 1200 as it was flying over the village of Medari near Okucani. [no opening quotation mark as received]

"The helicopter was proceeding toward the villages of Bogicevici and Kostolac when it was hit by three bullets. The pilot continued to fly toward Novska, but landed on the airfield of the Rajici Agricultural Combine near Novska for security reasons. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The same source also says that "none of the crew or the delegation members was hit or wounded."

Slovenia

Rupel Comments on Alleged Army Nuclear Weapons

AU1608131891 Vienna SALTO in German
16 Aug 91 p 6

[Interview with Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel by Igor Schellander; place and date not given: "Crazy Speculation: Does the Yugoslav People's Army Have Nuclear Weapons?"]

[Text] [Schellander] A few days ago your Defense Minister Jansa revealed another secret operational plan of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] against Croatia and Slovenia. It speaks of an invasion in Croatia and the punishment of Slovenia, possibly in September. How serious are such announcements?

[Rupel] Jansa is my friend, he comes from the same party, and I do not have any reason to distrust his warnings. The danger is there, it exists. A system such as the YPA changes only very slowly, so we may still be facing considerable difficulties. I agree with Jansa in this respect. His task as defense minister is to warn against situations that are hazardous from the military and defense policy standpoint. The other political figures have the responsibility for overall assessment. At the moment, I still do not have that. Even though Slovenia must make every effort to eliminate the war psychosis and put an end to the war, at the same time it must also be prepared for any potential emergency. Being prepared for military conflict is also essential, but at the same time all diplomatic efforts for a peaceful solution and for European integration must continue, in particular those in the economic field.

[Schellander] What kind of information do you really have concerning the planned Army operation?

[Rupel] Look, the Army is unpredictable. One cannot make any predictions. We only have indications, but we can hardly calculate its behavior in advance—which we could not do in the past, either. However, the new document about General Adzic's plans is authentic. It is also known that part of the Army is very conservative. Therefore, we must prevent these potential activities by diplomatic means, by reacting in time and informing the public.

[Schellander] Jansa is quoted by the Croatian press as saying that he has received indications that, in the course of the conflict, the Army also considered the use of tactical nuclear weapons. Does the Army actually have such weapons, or is this a propaganda gag by Jansa and the Slovene Information Ministry?

[Rupel] Can you imagine a foreign minister who would deny the statements of his defense minister?

[Schellander] !?!? [as published]

[Rupel] This is all I can tell you.

[Schellander] You can provide evidence?

[Rupel] We have continuous, daily contacts with the Defense Ministry, which passes on the corresponding information to us. We consider this information reliable.

Over the years the YPA has had an enormous amount of money available. It was able to equip itself with all imaginable paraphernalia from the international arms industry. You must know that. Take, for instance, the Army's radar control system in Slovenia: This is the most recent technology of the 1980's, which the Army naturally wants to take along in its withdrawal. We must not have any delusions about their equipment. The Army was able to do whatever it wanted.

[Schellander] Does it have nuclear weapons?

[Rupel] My dear sir, if the Defense Ministry announced that, it has serious arguments for it.

[Schellander] Who is in charge of this Army, in your opinion?

[Rupel] Defense Minister General Kadijevic.

[Schellander] And who is behind him?

[Rupel] Our biggest problem is that this Army actually is an independent system. In the past there were repeated and unsuccessful attempts to bring this Army under control and supervise it. One of the European demands—and a delusion—was that it would be possible to have the Yugoslav State Presidency control the Army. However, the Army disregards Mesic as commander-in-chief; in part it respects the State Presidency as a whole, in particular the Serbian-Montenegrin bloc. Thus, there is a slight link, but the Army itself—in addition to Kadijevic, there are Adzic and other generals—is an autonomous system, which, however, also links itself with Serbia's political interests. This, naturally, results in an even more complicated situation. The proof of it: We demanded both of Mesic and of Markovic the removal of one of these military officers—there would have been sufficient formal reasons for that—but nothing happened....

Assembly Agrees To Remit Customs Duties

LD1708135691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1311 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Ljubljana, Aug 17 (TANJUG)—The government of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia has advised the governor of the Central Yugoslav Bank and Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic that by the end of the current three-month moratorium it would be paying in the duties it was collecting from customs in its territory.

The Slovenian government urged a joint banking account and a relevant auditing body to be introduced to comprise also members of the European Community (E.C.) monitoring mission.

It also demands that an agreement be signed with the federal government to provide for the ways in which the current federal customs regulations would be enforced.

On June 25, Slovenia unilaterally proclaimed independence and decided to take over control of Yugoslavia's borders in its territory, bringing about a conflict with units of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA).

Slovenia then declined to remit customs duties to the federal treasury, while federal customs officials were expelled from border points in the republic.

The federal government had given Slovenia a deadline to fulfil its customs duty obligations or it would call international organizations and individual countries to apply adequate sanctions against Slovenia.

Daily Predicts Break in European Ties

LD1708131691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1146 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 17 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia will soon face a 'final blow of breaking off ties with Europe,' as the Belgrade daily VECERNJE NOVOSTI says today.

The daily predicts that this would happen 'in the next several days, after the parliament adopts an extremely conservative law on privatization.'

Fierce reckonings are to be expected as soon as early autumn, and the 'left' wing of Slovenia's ruling coalition Demos and some opposition parties plan to topple (Slovenian Prime Minister) Peterle's government, VECERNJE NOVOSTI sets out.

The Slovenian authorities 'continue to successfully manipulate people,' scaring them by 'Belgrade and the Yugoslav People's Army,' the daily says and asks what would the Slovenian authorities do when they run out of their current imaginary enemies.

By insisting on provincialism in politics and a pastoral vision of Slovenia, the set in power has begun to distance Slovenia from Europe. The strong clericalist influence would soon turn Slovenia into a 'right-wing' catholic state, long unknown in Europe, VECERNJE NOVOSTI says.

With such a social structure, Slovenia does not build a system compatible with European democratic systems, the daily assesses.

'The strong German trend in the Slovenian political leadership is solely a simulated 'European joker'. Starting from 'Yugoslavia's west,' Slovenia is day after day striding ahead towards genuine 'European south,' VECERNJE NOVOSTI concludes.

Croatia

Government Condemns Attack on EC Helicopter

LD1708140291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—“The government of the Republic of Croatia resolutely condemns the brazen and provocative attack on the helicopter carrying the EC observers launched by the terrorist above the village of Ladjevac, the municipality of Nova Gradiska. The helicopter landed in the village of Rajic, the municipality of Novska, on 16 August this year. [no closing quotation mark as received]

The Ministry of Information of the government of the Republic of Croatia today announced that “the government has launched an immediate inquiry into this incident. According to information at its present disposal, there was not a single member of the police forces or the National Guard of the Republic of Croatia in the area where the attack took place or in the place where the helicopter landed following the attack. At the time when the attack took place it was only the terrorist groups - the ones that also carried out the aggression against Okucani - that were operating and moving in these areas.”

The government maintains that “the attack was premeditated in its aim to obstruct the activity of the EC observers in the territory of the Republic of Croatia as it coincided with the attempts of the terrorists and aggressors against the Republic of Croatia who have been fiercely opposing any engagement of foreign neutral factors and their efforts to put an end to the dirty war against Croatia and internationalize the Yugoslav state crisis.”

The government will continue, the statement concludes, “to provide security and full support for EC observers and all foreign missions in order to restore the peace and security on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

VJESNIK Predicts ‘No Peace’

LD1808105291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1023 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—A year has gone by since people have stopped going via Knin and Bukovica to Dalmatia, writes the Zagreb daily VECERNJI LIST on Sunday on the ‘Anniversary of the start of the war in Croatia.’

‘It would be ideal if Croats and Serbs could come to such an arrangement that Croatia truly be a sovereign state, with Serbs having rights in keeping with the highest European standards for minority peoples,’ the daily says.

‘They want a Croatia in which they will hold at least 51 percent of the power and one which must be in the Yugoslav federation, thus additionally ensuring themselves,’ explains the Croatian daily.

Wondering whether there is any longer any possibility for Croats and Serbs to live together, the commentator underlines that Croats must understand that they can be their own worst enemy.

The former way of living together is possible only on the condition of Croatia’s unconditional defeat, VJESNIK says.

‘Only two assumptions—on Croatia’s defeat and on Serbian dissatisfaction—indicate that there will be no peace,’ VJESNIK says and adds that ‘we should not deceive ourselves like other countries, which, unfortunately, still do not understand this.’

Croatia Signs, Serbia Declines Peace Charter

LD1708202691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1835 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Belgrade, Aug 17 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman signed in Zagreb today a peace charter brought to him by representatives of a peace movement formed in the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, Croatian radio has reported.

Tudjman said he would ‘continue to do everything possible to put a stop to a war forced on Croatia.’

The charter was drafted at the initiative of a Yugoslav peace movement formed in the town of Bosanska Dubica in Bosnia-Herzegovina, near the republic’s border with Croatia.

A large peace caravan set out from Bosanska Dubica this morning towards Zagreb and Belgrade, the capitals of Croatia and Serbia, with the intention of asking Tudjman and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic to sign the charter in order to ‘save their peoples from a senseless war.’

The charter asks the two presidents to do all in their competence to prevent violence, provocations, intimidation, information blockades and inter-republican conflicts.

The charter was not signed in Belgrade. The six-member peace delegation was received by Serbian Vice-Premier Budimir Kosutic and Vice-President of the Serbian Assembly Pavic Obradovic, instead of Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

‘The Yugoslav Republic of Serbia does favour peace and a democratic solution to the crisis, but the text of the charter, according to which the Serbian side and the Croatian side are equally to blame for the situation in Yugoslavia, we cannot sign,’ Kosutic said.

The charter is one in a series of attempts to find a peaceful solution to the situation in Croatia, where republican armed forces are fighting with armed Serb civilians.

The Croatian authorities blame Serbia for inciting the violence. The Serbian authorities reject these accusations, stressing that the Serb citizens of Croatia feel that their rights have been in jeopardy since the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) came to power in the republic last year.

'While you are establishing the precise shares of the blame, we shall all get killed. Nevertheless, we are not giving up - this is not our last visit,' the delegation of the peace movement said, pointing out that they were dissatisfied with their one-hour talks in the Serbian Assembly.

They were welcomed before the Assembly building by several hundred Belgraders who took part in anti-war demonstrations.

An anti-war gathering was held at the same time in central Zagreb's Ban Jelacic Square.

Daily Urges Caution on 'Moscow Charter'

LD1708131291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1149 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 17 (TANJUG)—Zagreb daily VJESNIK on Saturday recommended to Croatian diplomacy to 'study well the Soviet accord on re-shaping the state into (con)federation, the so-called Moscow charter.'

VJESNIK's commentator believes the Moscow charter a 'trap', because 'this was an elegantly phrased formula for sanctioning the already achieved status,' i.e., a formula in which the evil spirit of a federal state has somewhat more cunningly been shrouded.'

In VJESNIK's view, 'the E.C., Europe and other institutions monitoring the developments in the Yugoslav crisis would get hold of this paper as the salvaging formula to re-design the present, i.e., creation of third Yugoslavia' and that the 'Soviet accord threatened with slavery in 'Srbolsavija' by way of survival through mimicry in (third) Yugoslavia.'

The paper, therefore, believes that Croatia, if it wished independence, should immediately adopt a critical stand towards the Moscow charter, so that Belgrade would not, as did the Kremlin, remain the center of great power in which would be concentrated the most important functions of state - defense, internal and foreign affairs and finance.

Vekic Orders Police Force Mobilization

LD1808150191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1338 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Croatian Interior Minister Ivan Vekic has ordered a new mobilization of active and reserve police forces, which, he said, would be sent to "endangered areas."

"We shall not give up Okucani," Vekic said late last night on Croatian Television after returning from the town, the scene of a clash which lasted over 24 hours until the appearance of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) troops.

Vekic said Croatia was strong enough and had sufficient firepower and human potential to defend the region, which lies about 100 kilometres south-east of the capital Zagreb.

He also said an attack by "terrorists, assisted by the JNA," had been successfully repelled by the Croatian police.

Vekic said the "terrorists," a term used by the Croatian authorities to describe Serbs defending with arms their right to remain in Yugoslavia rather than a break-away Croatia, also included "terrorists in Army uniforms."

He said no policemen had been killed but that several had been wounded—he did not say exactly how many. He claimed that the other side had sustained considerable casualties.

Over Two Hundred Prisoners Reportedly Exchanged

LD1608170791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1540 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 16 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Presidency commission for monitoring the ceasefire in Croatia said today that there had been no major armed clashes in the crisis spots in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in the past two days, and that a total of 220 prisoners had been exchanged so far.

A commission statement said that there were also fewer explosions yesterday, and fewer provocations of the Yugoslav People's Army, but that sporadic gunfire could still be heard, mostly in the Croatian regions of Slavonia and Baranja.

Slavonia and Baranja were the sites of the most fierce clashes between armed formations of Croatia and the armed Serbian population in which several hundred people have been killed.

A Yugoslav State Presidency decision on an unconditional ceasefire in the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia became effective on August 7, but the decision was not respected so that some ten people have been killed since that date.

The latest exchange of prisoners took place yesterday on the principle "all for all" thanks to mediatory efforts by a working group of the Yugoslav Presidency Commission in Slavonia and under the supervision of YPA units.

The statement also said that there were still more prisoners in jails and in some villages which are under a blockade, and that both sides in the conflict provided proof of this to the working group.

In a talk with representatives of both sides, the working group guaranteed, as said, that it would secure conditions to establish the whereabouts of all the imprisoned or missing persons.

It was also agreed that communications should be re-established and that the water and power supply be restored in place [words indistinct] under blockade in the crisis areas.

The state commission today also adopted a plan of work and agreed on the composition of observer groups of the federal interior ministry who are to go to these parts of Croatia.

As said in the statement, some changes in the ethnic structure of the observer groups were previously adopted at the request of the Croatian authorities.

Krajina Sends Ultimatum to Split Police Authority

LD1808170191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1559 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Knin, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—“Unless your police withdraws from this area within 48 hours of receipt of this ultimatum, our forces will attack your police station at a time convenient to us.” This is emphasized in a letter which was signed by “the Krajina Ministry of Internal Affairs” and sent to the police administration in Split, the police station and the council of the local community in Kijevo, the inhabitants of which are warned to move out as soon as possible.

The letter informs police forces in the village of Kijevo, which is situated near Knin on the road leading toward Vrljika and Sinj, that all consequences “arising from their failure to observe this ultimatum” will be borne by themselves including “guilt before their own people.”

The letter of warning goes on to say: “You and your leadership made relations between the Serbian and Croatian inhabitants unbearable for our future coexistence on our Serbian territories—in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina. Therefore, we are not going to allow your police stations to remain in any place within the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina, because they are the protectors of the Ustasha-fascist policy of the so-called young Croatian democracy.”

Mesic Comments on ‘Ultimatum’

LD1808201291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Aug (TANJUG)—In connection with the ultimatum, signed by Milan Martić [Secretary of the Krajina Secretariat for Internal Affairs], sent by the “Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina” which requests that “the Croatian police withdraw from the village of Kijevo within 48 hours,” Stipe Mesic, president of the SFRY Presidency, made brief comments at a news conference this afternoon.

“This letter was written by people who are acting for others and who believe that tomorrow, in a greater Serbia, they will obtain benefits and live from privileges until their deaths, not doing any work, like the longest-serving veteran partisans. They are driving their own people mad, which is also regrettable for those in Belgrade who are not aware that no happiness is to be derived from aggression.”

“Serbs do not like going into the army,” Mesic stressed, emphasizing that “Serbs might storm Nis, Kraljevo, or Valjevo, but not Sisak, Petrinja or Zagreb.”

Shooting, Explosions Reported in Baranja

AU1608161391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Excerpts] Here is a report by Mirko Stankovic on the situation in the autonomous region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem.

[Stankovic] [passage omitted] Peace is not returning to the region of Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem. The center of unrest seems to have moved to Baranja.

Thus, the railway line between Beli Manastir and Osijek was blown up last night and traffic has been disrupted. Arms were fired in the vicinity of [words indistinct] and heavy artillery was used to shoot at Branjin Vrh.

The residents of Beli Manastir have not had peaceful sleep for several nights because of shooting and explosions in the town.

Sniper weapons were used last night to shoot at Borovo Selo, while in the center of Vukovar several rounds of automatic gunfire could be heard.

While transporting food for the team that is at Silas near Brsadin, one member of the so-called National Guard was wounded and three citizens near [name indistinct] had the same fate. They were shot at because they supposedly did not want to stop after being warned by a police patrol.

The Osijek commune was not peaceful either. Mortar fire was exchanged for almost two hours between Stara and Nova Tenja, just like between Ugljes and Ceminac. There were no dead or wounded.

Report on Casualties in Okucani Clashes

LD1608172191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1621 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Pakrac, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Early reports on casualties claimed by today’s serious war-like clashes are unfortunately already known.

By 1730 this afternoon Pakrac’s medical center, 20 km from Okucani, had received Josip Josipovic and Zdravko Curic from Opatovac, Sinisa Dzambaz and Vojislav Dragojevic from Okucani, and Boro Delibasic

from Potograjci. The sixth wounded man, Stjepan Dukanovic, succumbed to gunshot wounds.

Dragojevic and Delibasic are civilians while the others wounded in the clashes are reserve members of the Croatian Ministry for Internal Affairs, head of the Pakrac Medical Center Vladimir Solar told United States.

We have learned that in Pakrac at least another two wounded members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs and one civilian have been taken to the Nova Gradiska Medical Center.

Two military aircraft overflew the Okucani area at about 1730.

Battle Continues

LD1708130991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Ognjen Naglic reporting from the crisis defense headquarters of the Nova Gradiska municipality: The battle for Okucani is still going on. National guardsmen, members of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and special task units have recaptured an old road linking Nova Gradiska, Kovacevac, Masic, Medari, Trnava, Gornji Bogicevici, and Kosovac, that is, Okucani. The village of Kosovac is in fact on the outskirts of Okucani and this is where fighting is still going on. All these places are situated north of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. It is passable, but the exits both to Okucani and to Bosna are closed. Armed terrorists wearing plain clothes and uniforms of Yugoslav People's Army reservists are shelling Gornji Bogicevici, practically the only village populated entirely by Croats in this strip of land, with mortars and heavy machine guns. Two national guardsmen have been killed, Stjepan Dukanovic and Slavko Saric, and nine are wounded. About 60 refugees, adults and children, have arrived in Nova Gradiska. They are all cared for. There are casualties, dead and wounded, among the Serbian terrorists too. One of them, Nenad Popovic, has been operated on in Nova Gradiska's hospital and he is not in critical condition. These are only preliminary figures. Surely, the number of casualties is set to rise.

The tanks which set off from Banja Luka are now stationed near the soccer stadium of Kozara in Bosanska Gradiska on the other side of the river of Sava. The bridge is under a blockade. Its northern side, facing the highway, is controlled by our forces. [passage omitted]

Situation Deemed 'Peaceful'

AU1708152391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Jul 91

[Zeljko Mandic report]

[Text] All telephone lines and connections with Okucani are broken, so that it is impossible to send an on-the-spot report, and we have had to travel several dozen kilometers to make contact. The situation was peaceful before

we left Okucani, even though an explosion was heard at around 0800, which was most probably a consequence of the mortar attack in which, according to initial reports, the Territorial Defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia did not suffer any wounded.

With respect to casualties, according to the information at our disposal, three members of the Okucani defense force have been wounded and one has died. This was Ljuban Gubic, 57 years old from Borovac, who was hit by the machine-gun fire of the members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

According to official reports, two men have died on the side of the Guard and police, even though, as we were told by the defenders of Okucani, this number is considerably larger because a truck with members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in it was ambushed in the village of Smrtic. An armed vehicle belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs was put out of action there. However, because of the danger of being surrounded, the defenders of Smrtic, members of the Territorial Defense, had to withdraw to a new position.

According to what we have managed to find out, the Guard and police of Croatia have eleven wounded, of which two are in the war hospital in Pakrac where they were sent by members of the Territorial Defense from Okucani by ambulance. Eight are in Nova Gradiska, and one was quickly taken to Zagreb.

Members of the Territorial Defense have three captives: Ivan Marijanovic from Opatovac, born in 1959; Ivan Vintosevic from [name indistinct] born in 1960; Djuro Mihanovic from [name indistinct] born in 1954. All of them are from the Nova Gradiska commune and are uniformed members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We have personally witnessed when we were there that there are no civilians in prison.

We have learned that the night before last, members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Guard withdrew from some of the positions which they had held when they heard that the Army had set off from Bosnia. In doing so, they set on fire the restaurant of Mile Vujet from which they had previously [words indistinct]. Mile Vujet is a Serb. However, they returned to their old positions during the night under cover of darkness. It was noticed this morning that they are regrouping.

Last night we visited some of the positions held by the Territorials of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia, and we saw a large number of refugees in the forests, women and children from Serbian villages. About 200 were found in one place last night. [Word indistinct] and hungry, they were then immediately distributed among the houses in some Serbian villages where they found food and refuge.

As they told us, members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs had demolished their houses when they entered their villages. Nevertheless, despite everything, the extent to which the people care about their defenders,

which include both Croats and Muslims, is shown by the example of one host who roasted a pig yesterday that was prepared for a wedding today and gave it as a gift to the Territorial Defense fighters.

We will say at the end that the momentary break in all links with Okucani is being amply used by the Croatian media to spread (?wrong) information to the public.

Army Enters Okucani

LD1708144391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Pakrac, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—This afternoon at about 1500 motorized and mechanized army units entered Okucani, which over the past 24 hours with a break during the night, has been the scene of fierce skirmishes.

This is a reference to 23 armored vehicles, 11 trucks, and three light army trucks, which were observed to be moving at about noon in Daruvar, on the road from the Bjelovar garrison, from which they departed this morning.

It is expected that this large-scale army arrival will end the bloodletting which has begun in this part of western Slavonija.

Fighting 'Flaring Up'

LD1708191991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1824 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Pakrac, 17 Aug (TANJUG)—As the night approaches, the fighting in Okucani is flaring up, even though units of Yugoslav People's Army arrived there from Bjelovar this afternoon.

According to the announcement by the Pakrac medical center, another two wounded people were taken to its surgical and trauma department at about 1900 hours.

According to an ambulance driver of the medical center, street fighting is going on in Okucani, while the greatest danger to the defenders of the village comes from the Croatian MUP [Internal Affairs Ministry] snipers and a machine-gun in a MUP armored vehicle.

Cease-Fire 'Holding'

LD1808085191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] At present the cease-fire is holding on the western front; that is, in Okucani, the seat of the main Chetnik headquarters, aided by the armored units of the Serbian army militant forces. Fortunately, no one was killed on the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs' and National Guard Corps' sides in overnight clashes, with the exception of one guardsman who sustained light injuries. On the terrorist side, we were told unofficially, five were allegedly killed and about a dozen sustained serious or minor injuries. It is presumed that they have all been transported to Lipik, and from there to the Pakrac hospital and a destination in the direction of Zagreb.

'Constant Tension' Reported in Bosanska Gradiska

AU1908095191 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 19 Aug 91

[Text] Gojko Serbula has a report on the situation in the region of Stara Gradiska:

[Serbula] Last night in the vicinity of Novi Varos not far from Stara Gradiska, members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and Guardsmen twice opened fire from heavy machine guns and mortars at members of the armored unit of the Yugoslav People's Army that is situated alongside the highway. According to the available information there were no dead or injured.

At 0045, members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs attacked the defenders of Stara Gradiska. Including short intervals, this skirmish lasted for almost 30 minutes and members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Guard of Croatia used anti-aircraft machine guns to shoot in the direction of Bosanska Gradiska, which rather disturbed a large number of citizens on the right bank of the Sava river.

After this attack, no other incident has been reported in the last six hours. This probably has something to do with the heavy rain that has been falling for several hours. However, constant tension, uncertainty, and fear are present in the entire crisis area and in Bosanska Gradiska too.

There are frequent rumors that spread with great speed. The psychological-propaganda war that is being waged by the members of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and their followers is increasing in strength with extremely immoral and false content directed at the fomenting of interethnic conflicts and [word indistinct] of the Yugoslav People's Army.

[words indistinct] of forces, members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs continue to be concentrated in the direction of Okucani and the surrounding Serb villages of Gredjani, (?Covac), and Rajic, from which most children and women have been evacuated to Bosnia. Mlaka has also been deserted since last night. This is the only Serbian village on the banks of the Sava river from its source to Srem. All citizens of this village fled (?last night) to the Bosnian side.

Finally, here is another fact: the highway from Bosanska Gradiska to Okucani is impassable because members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have destroyed the bridge on (?this road), but the Sava bridge between Bosanska Gradiska and Stara Gradiska is being [word indistinct] by the Yugoslav People's Army, which means that it has not been demolished as the media in Croatia are claiming.

Western Slavonia Government Discusses Fighting

*AU1608151391 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Zeljko Mandic report from Okucani]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As we have already said, there is fighting around Okucani, which has produced wounded on both sides. Even though our information is unconfirmed, the police have also suffered dead.

Both sides are well entrenched, so it can be said that a veritable trench war is now being fought here, mainly with mortars. Two members of the Territorial Defense were wounded in such a mortar attack.

After the latest events, the government of the Serbian Autonomous Region [SAR] of Western Slavonia met to discuss the current political and security situation in this region. The government assessed that the situation is deteriorating by the day and that the Serbian people are being constantly subjected to physical pressures and threats.

The government stated that many women, children, and old people have fled from the territory of Western Slavonia, as well as those who are able and have the duty to defend the integrity of the Krajina and the family home. In this sense, the government calls on them to return immediately to defend the newly-established SAR of Western Slavonia, to defend the dignity of the Serbian people.

The government has also appointed ministers for defense, information, and justice, to be more effective in these fields of activity.

We have learned that at Peratovica in the Grubisno Polje commune, members of a patrol of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia yesterday opened fire from a car on the position of the newly-formed 17th (?Bilogora) Strike Brigade, which was fiercely returned. The members of the Ministry of Internal Affairs left their vehicle and fled. The car was then taken over by fighters of the 17th (?Bilogora) Brigade. We have learned that a large quantity of foreign-made ammunition and arms was found in the car.

Fighting Continues Despite Ultimatum

*AU1608114891 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] There is fighting in in western Slavonia, around Okucani, our correspondent Zeljko Mandic in Pakrac reports. The ultimatum to withdraw from Okucani, that members of the territorial defense of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia have given to the forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs who are located in the eastern and northern parts of Okucani, expired at 1200 and the command of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry has not obeyed it so far.

Reinforcements to the members of the Croatian Internal Affairs Ministry are coming from the direction of Stara Gradiska. A half-hour after the ultimatum expired, the defenders of Okucani responded with gunfire in the east part of Okucani, around the villages of Dubovac and Kosovac, against the attacking forces of the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs and Guard.

Fighting is continuing in the Okucani area and women and children have evacuated the town.

Serbian Forces 'Liberate' Slavonian Town

*AU1908112491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network
in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 19 Aug 91*

[Text] The Territorial Defense forces of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Western Slavonia and fighters of the 12th Slavonian brigade have liberated the town of Vocin from armed members of the Croatian Democratic Community, our correspondent Zeljko Mandic reports.

These forces have entered Pakrac where they are controlling most of the town at the moment. There is fighting around the police station and the war hospital in Pakrac. According to information from the communal Territorial Defense headquarters in Pakrac, strong forces from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the National Guard of Croatia are moving from the direction of Kutina and Garesnica toward Pakrac.

As our correspondent reports, the (?Djakovo) military premises in Grubisno Polje are being attacked by forces of the National Guard and Ministry of Internal Affairs of Croatia with artillery fire.

Serbia

Zelenovic Believes in Federal Survival

*LD1708201291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1729 GMT 17 Aug 91*

[Text] Vranje, August 17 (TANJUG)—Prime Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Dragutin Zelenovic said here today that he believes Yugoslavia will survive 'in some form.'

'This would preserve the legitimacy on the international scale, and the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA),' Zelenovic added.

Zelenovic made the statement during a visit to the furniture factory Simpo, in the city of Vranje in southern Serbia.

In a talk with economists, Zelenovic underscored that the decline in production in Serbia poses the most difficult problem, because that reduces not only the income, but also all taxes and contributions, he said, so that some public services in the republic cannot operate.

'In such a situation in Serbia, we predict a reduction of office workers, currently numbering around 137,000, because fewer people could manage just as well,' Zelenovic said.

Before visiting Simpo, Zelenovic also visited the textile factory Yumco, also of Vranje, which suffered an estimated 51 million dollars' worth of damages in a disastrous fire on July 16 this year.

Simovic Against Internationalization of Crisis

LD1808145491 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1329 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Defence Minister in the Cabinet of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia Lt.-Gen. Tomislav Simovic warned in an interview in POLITIKA today that Yugoslavia's crisis has already been internationalized politically and that the secessionist leaderships of some of the Yugoslav republics also wanted its "military internationalization."

Asked about the Federal Army's role in interethnic conflicts, Lt.-Gen. Simovic said its assignment was to help a peaceful resolution of the crisis.

"One can hardly imagine what would be taking place in the absence of Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) members along the line of clashes between Croatian and Serbian population. The Army is there to avert the clashes, but if a clash does occur, it shall see to it that the number of victims is held at the minimum and that a ceasefire is secured," he explained.

When the POLITIKA interviewer recalled that the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia had decided no longer to send recruits to the JNA, while the response of recruits from the Republic of Croatia was minimal, Lt.-Gen. Simovic added that representatives of the supreme organs of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia "also endeavour for keeping new recruits within their republics."

The JNA, he said, decided that last September's generation of recruits should be kept 20 more days in service to "preserve their combat readiness."

As for the attempts at setting up paramilitary formations in Serbia, he recalled that the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) had long founded such formations in Croatia.

Lt.-Gen. Simovic condemned such attempts in Serbia, stressing that "military organizing is an exclusive competence of the state, not of the parties and individuals."

Opposition Leader Supports Union of Republics

LD1708015191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2300 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Belgrade, August 16 (TANJUG)—The Serbian people's road into Europe would be 'the quickest and cheapest one by way of Yugoslavia,' Ivan Djuric, leader

of the Union of Reform forces of Yugoslavia (SRSJ) for its Republic of Serbia, said so in an interview released by the Belgrade weekly news magazine, NIN, here today.

Djuric explained that he sees a peaceful solution for the crisis in Yugoslavia in 'creating a union of sovereign republics (states) in which sovereignty would be recognized to all, but limited through their participation in the Union.' This would also be the best way for solving the Serbian national question, he added.

'I think that democracy is Serbia's national interest. Just fancy: if a genuine democracy ruled in Serbia, how Croatia could defend its Constitution with a national segregation of citizens built in and the existence of a party army,' the SRSJ leader said.

'Serbia's experience was democratic-minded, a small and modest one, but there was no better one all around at the time,' Djuric recalled, adding that this applies, above all, to the period between 1903 and the First World War started in 1914.

Ivan Djuric is the president of the SRSJ party for Serbia, an opposition party initiated on the federal level by Ante Markovic, Yugoslavia's federal premier.

Assembly Official: Serbia Wants 'Peace'

LD1808152991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1233 GMT 18 Aug 91

[Text] Slankamen, Aug 18 (TANJUG)—Serbian Parliament Vice President Radovan Pakov said on Sunday that Serbia wanted peace and would defend with dignity the vital interests of the Serbian people.

The recent Belgrade initiative for the peoples who want to remain in Yugoslavia to democratically formulate a model of the state in which they wish to live is subjected to this goal, Pankov told a rally to mark the 300th anniversary of the battle of Slankamen which stopped Turkey's invasion of Europe.

The Battle of Slankamen, fought on the right bank of the Danube in Serbia's province Vojvodina in the 17th century on the border of the Ottoman Empire and Christian Europe, is one of the most important battles towards the end of the 17th century. Ten thousand Serbs also fought on the side of the Austrian Army.

Pankov reiterated the stand of the Serbian leadership that it 'values every effort and good intention of the European Community to help in the settlement of the problems in Yugoslavia, but rejects interference in internal affairs and the presence of foreign troops.'

As for the clashes in Croatia, Pankov said Serbs in this republic were defending their homes, their ethnic and historical space from fascist ideology and the new Croatian authorities' terror.

The Croatian authorities, Pankov said, tried to disguise everything in their alleged democracy of which they could no longer convince anyone at home as well as in Europe.

Jansa's Remarks on Nuclear Weapons Criticized

*LD1608205291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1829 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, August 16 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade news magazine NIN strongly criticises Slovenia's Defence Minister Janez Jansa for his recent statement that tactical nuclear warheads of "East European origin" were stationed in that Yugoslav republic.

"By inventing the story about nuclear warheads in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, Jansa wants to keep up the atmosphere of militarization and nip in the bud the peace movements cropping up also in his republic," writes NIN.

The federal military authorities denied Jansa's statement that tactical nuclear warheads of the Yugoslav People's Army had been stationed in Slovenia and transferred to other parts of Yugoslavia prior to the armed conflict with Slovenian territorial defence units.

Analysing possible reasons for what it calls the "not at all naive allegation by the Slovenian minister," NIN cites first his intention to create an atmosphere of a continued threat of mobilization and danger in Slovenia and thus disrupt the alternative peace movement.

The Belgrade weekly sees the statement as being probably also aimed at arousing an even greater interest of Western Europe by the tale about "East European origin of nuclear warheads."

Calling Europe's attention to the nuclear warheads of "East European origin," Jansa at the same time discreetly seeks nuclear warheads of West European origin for Slovenia's defence.

As the fourth variant the paper mentions that the Slovenian defence minister probably fears a possibility of the Yugoslav Army obtaining nuclear warheads of East European origin, which would turn the "rest of Yugoslavia" into a military power.

As the fifth variant, the writer allows for a possibility that Jansa tells the truth.

"It does not need much arguing to realize how dangerous this would be for Yugoslavia," says NIN.

Pro-Serb Group Attacks Vojvodina Hungarians

*AU1908094491 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET
in Hungarian 16 Aug 91 p 1*

[MTI report: "The VMDK Under Attack"]

[Text] MTI reports from Belgrade: On 15 August, the organization "Hungarians for a Serbian and Yugoslav

Homeland" [Magyarok a Szerb es a Jugoszlav Hazart] published a statement severely attacking the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK].

According to the document, the VMDK has brought disgrace upon Vojvodina Hungarians. The document refers to the fact that a few days ago, the chairman of the VMDK addressed a letter to [SFRY Presidency] President Stipe Mesic, asking for ethnic Hungarians to be demobilized from the Yugoslav People's Army because Vojvodina Hungarians do not want to participate in the conflict between Southern Slav peoples. The document stressed that the members of the "Hungarians for a Serbian and Yugoslav Homeland" would be ashamed of themselves if they did not stand by the Serbian people during these difficult days.

Novi Sad Guard Holds More Weapons Than Thought

*LD1608131291 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network
in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Szilveszter Varga report]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Weapons were firing away during the night in Croatia. There was shooting near Osijek, Slavenska (?Pozega), Karlovac, Benovac, and Zadar. According to a report from Radio Zagreb, Serbs from the Osijek area are dragging away Croatians and Magyars. Yutel independent television last night carried an interview with (Djordje Bozovic), head of the Serbian guard, who participated in the training of the Novi Sad units in Petrovaradin. (Bozovic) stated that the guards already had 56,000 volunteers and that they had more weapons than some thought. He said that it was no longer necessary to go abroad for weapons since they could be obtained at the Novi Sad second-hand market. The commander of the Novi Sad unit of the guard stated that not only were there Serbs in the formation, but, among others, Magyars had also joined.

Sandzak MBO Holds Founding Assembly

*AU1808195791 Belgrade RTV Sat TV
in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Ramiz Etemovic report]

[Text] The founding assembly of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] of Serbia was not held in Novi Pazar, as planned. Several hundreds of members of the Party of Democratic Action [PDA] of this town, the party that advocates democracy, blocked the entrance to the hall in which the founding assembly was supposed to be held. The militant groups of the PDA also threatened to carry out a physical attack with the banners insulting the leaders of the MBO from Bosnia-Herzegovina and calling them traitors of the Muslims. The assembly was held in secret.

The plan was clear. The founding of the MBO must be prevented at any cost. If the founding cannot be prevented in a peaceful way, then it must be done by force. It is quite certain that the recent speeches by Suljman Ugljanin, leader of the PDA of Serbia—who first called for the cultural autonomy of Sandzak and is now calling for a Sandzak Republic, which the majority of the Muslims from this region disagree with—and the full support of the MBO to the proposed agreement between Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia have seriously undermined the influence of the PDA of Serbia.

Some leaders of the PDA disagreed with the party's policy. Among them is Kasim Zoranic, who is now president of the MBO of Serbia.

[Begin Zoranic recording] Many of us who left the leadership of the PDA of Serbia met on many occasions and talked and discussed the policies of the party that we left. We established that it is damaging for a nation to have only one party. Every nation, all nations in Yugoslavia, must have several parties. The Muslim Bosniak people must also have two parties. In other words, every nation must always have a ruling party and the opposition. Why?

Because we proceed from the basic premise that there is no progress without competition. In Serbia, we want to regain our centuries-old name of Bosniaks [Bosnjak]. [end recording]

It is obvious that it is not in the interest of the PDA leaders, who identify the entire Muslim nation with their party, that the Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia and Sandzak should live together. The MBO of Serbia has fully supported the proposed agreement between Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia, and will be, as their program points out, against national segregation, intolerance, and hatred among all peoples, especially between Muslims and Serbs in this area.

Besides, except for cultural autonomy, the MBO is against the political autonomy of Sandzak, that is, a Republic of Sandzak, which the PDA strives for. This is probably one of the reasons why the PDA is trying to prevent the activities of the MBO of Serbia at any cost by adhering to the motto: Those who do not think like the PDA leaders are traitors of the Muslim people.

They ignore the fact the Muslims and Serbs here want to live together as they have been doing in peace and harmony up to now.

Rugova Says Albanians To Have Referendum

LD1608111991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1005 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Text] Pristina, 16 Aug (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, heralded at today's news conference that a referendum for Albanians will be held. Under the current circumstances it is very difficult to organize a referendum, but the

Albanians will express their will in some form, Rugova said without specifying what he had in mind. Noting that the public will learn about this more in the next few days, Rugova added that there has not been a single referendum for the Albanians and that they have a right to it. The leader of the largest party rallying the Albanians from Kosovo, said that if the Albanians are excluded from the forthcoming talks about the future of Yugoslavia, this would be yet another proof that they are excluded from "this so-called state which still exists."

Asked what would happen if Albanians are excluded from the talks, he briefly said that there will be no peace. "We are not an ethnic minority, and let the Serbian and other authorities treat us like one, and we shall see what happens then," Rugova stressed.

He assessed that the situation in Kosovo is deteriorating daily, and went on to claim that "repressions, harassment, detentions and killings of Albanians, including Democratic Alliance of Kosovo activists, are on the increase. In this context he mentioned incidents on the Yugoslav-Albanian border ascribing those provocations to the Serbian police force and the Yugoslav People's Army.

Rugova again asked that Albanians do their military service only in Kosovo and Macedonia, and announced that soon he will present an instruction for recruits on how to behave when they receive call-up papers for - as he calls it - the Yugoslav, that is, Serbian army. He also said European observer missions will be asked to come here because of possible conflicts in Kosovo, and if the need arises Albanians will ask "not just for blue but other helmets too." Rugova pointed a finger at Serbia claiming that it is carrying out a policy of total militarization.

Politician Urges Vojvodina Independence Movement

LD1608200591 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0650 GMT 16 Aug 91

[Interview with "Albanian politician" Veton Suroi by Hajnal Mate; place and date not given; Suroi speaks in English fading to Hungarian translation; from the "Foreign Political Observer" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Mate] What will happen in Yugoslavia? Will there be a referendum on independence, and if so, in which republics? I asked Veton Suroi, an Albanian politician from Kosovo, if a referendum is expected in the near future in Kosovo, on the republic's future.

[Suroi] Yes, moreover, soon. This must happen in practically all of Yugoslavia.

[Mate] In Vojvodina, too?

[Suroi] Yes, I hope that some sort of independence movement gets underway in Vojvodina, too. Vojvodina is practically in a state of occupation. I am astonished that at the moment no signs can be seen that the local

opposition might be taking a stand. However, if they do not do this now, in my view, Vojvodina will become entirely a province of Serbia, which will have very sad consequences, first and foremost, for the Magyar minority.

[Mate] In your view, will it be more difficult for Vojvodina and Kosovo to secede from Yugoslavia than for the other republics, since the two of them are Serbian provinces?

[Suroi] Perhaps it would be more difficult. At the same time, the severe clashes in Croatia do not clearly indicate this, and Croatia was never a Serbian province.

[Mate] What is your opinion of the statement by Milovan Djilas that the secession of Slovenia from Yugoslavia is conceivable, however, the secession of Croatia and Kosovo would mean a danger of civil war?

[Suroi] Well, this is a typical case of changing positions out of Serbian nationalist self-interest, behind which there is an obvious strategy. The events in Slovenia took place practically without military intervention, at least, if we compare the clashes there with the fighting in Croatia. This is the conclusion we must draw. Therefore, Serbia's interests are not the same as in the case of Slovenia and Croatia. Serbia will not tolerate the secession of the latter. For this reason, it has resorted to military intervention. It is to be feared that it will do the same in the case of the other republics, too.

[Mate] From here in Hungary, it sometimes appears that there is a common opponent, Serbia. If this is so, why don't the republics join forces, and why don't they fight for their independence together?

[Suroi] You see, the problem is precisely that this is not how it happened. I can say, however, that we, the leaders of Kosovo, have taken concrete steps to this end, and certain coordinating talks are taking place now, too, between the forces against the Serbian nationalist dictatorship. The results of these will soon be made public.

[Mate] Is it conceivable, perhaps, that later, there will not be agreement between Kosovo and Macedonia, either, because of the Albanian minority?

[Suroi] I believe that this will cause the least difficulty. The Macedonians have always peacefully been on good terms with the Albanian population. Historically, they lived together in the Ottoman Empire. In my opinion, there is every chance that this issue can be peacefully resolved.

[Mate] Is a peaceful resolution of the Albanian-Serb conflict conceivable, and if so, how?

[Suroi] Yes, it is conceivable. However, for this it is necessary for the Serbian government to recognize that human rights and the right of self-determination must be guaranteed for the Albanian minority, just like this should be done for any other nation. For this, the

creation of an Albanian national assembly and an Albanian government, is necessary. As soon as the Serbian government acknowledges this, the Albanian population will turn into a true friend. Inasmuch as it does not acknowledge this, the Albanian minority will regard it as exclusively an enemy.

Bosnia-Herzegovina

Presidency Drafts Position Document

LD1708141191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1249 GMT 17 Aug 91

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug. 17 (TANJUG)—Bosnia-Herzegovina is 'a sovereign and indivisible state, its borders inviolable and unalterable,' says its presidency in a draft document on the position of this republic.

The draft, sent to the republic's parliament on Saturday, explains that this stand is the 'specific need of this environment and this time when territorial claims on this republic are distinctly displayed.'

It says that the 'most natural top-priority' form of integration is that with the members of the present SFR of Yugoslavia with which 'it is necessary to reach accord at the soonest.'

The Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina 'will endeavour for a future Yugoslav community formed of six republics' to have the 'single market of goods, services, labour and capital, the joint foreign affairs, and the common defence forces,' says the draft.

'In a conflict between two or more neighbouring republics within a Yugoslav community,' Bosnia-Herzegovina will support arbitration by the international community, naturally 'if accords at home cannot be achieved peacefully.'

The draft adds that 'this stand contains an alternative saying that, in the possible conflict between the Republics of Croatia and Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina will invariably stay neutral, offering brokerage services of good will.'

It says in the end that all the common institutions or organizations at the level of a Yugoslav community must be composed observing the republics' parity principle, and that the forces of Territorial Defence (T.D.) in Bosnia-Herzegovina are under control of the presidency of this republic and that 'in case of an external attack on a Yugoslav community, the T.D. of Bosnia-Herzegovina shall be placed under the joint command.'

Members of the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina Biljana Plavsic and Nikola Koljevic, both of the Serbian Democratic Party, dissociated themselves from the

draft. They argued that every definition of fresh solutions should be guided by the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina is in the composition of the SFR of Yugoslavia as its federal unit and not, as is said in the draft document, in the composition of some future Yugoslav community.

Izetbegovic Rejects 'Road to National State'

*LD1608122991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1016 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] Belgrade, August 16 (TANJUG)—The president of the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic, said in an interview to the Belgrade daily BORBA that (Serbian President) "Slobodan Milosevic holds the key to war or peace" in the complex Yugoslav crisis.

Izetbegovic said that the situation in Yugoslavia was the "result of extremist national policies—of either the Milosevic-style or Tudjman-style". He said that "a lasting policy cannot be built on a strong element of force, which is present in Milosevic's policy".

The impasse in which the attempts for a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis have fallen into, Izetbegovic said that the "failure of six-months of negotiations is basically that neither Milosevic nor Tudjman could back down from positions they already swore to".

From the standpoint of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where there is still peace based on a balance of fear, Izetbegovic said that "two opposites were always unacceptable: the present type of federation on the one side and the complete disintegration of Yugoslavia on the other".

Izetbegovic recalled that "any solution was suitable to Bosnia-Herzegovina—which also suits both Serbia and Croatia—providing there was a sovereign Bosnia-Herzegovina".

Pointing out that the "matrix of Bosnia is multi-ethnic, multi-confessional and multi-cultural", Izetbegovic said that "there is no road to a national state for Bosnia-Herzegovina" and that it "does not have greater state, which are the basis of the current clash in Yugoslavia".

Izetbegovic said that, in view of the normal request for the preservation of identity, the Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina could play the role of mediator in the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. He however said that a "third Yugoslavia", if it comes to be, could be "characterized by a strong Moslem influence" in it.

Parties Reportedly 'Breaking Up' Republic

*LD1808151591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1427 GMT 18 Aug 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, August 18 (TANJUG)—The daily OSLOBODJENJE today accused the ruling three-party coalition of Bosnia-Herzegovina of breaking up this central Yugoslav republic.

The daily, which is published in the republican capital of Sarajevo, reports that "the new authorities have done nothing, nor are they doing anything now, finally to define and establish the political position" of the republic in the many months long negotiations about the future of Yugoslavia.

Instead, the "ruling coalition always made moves towards the disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina coalition includes the party of democratic action (which rallies Moslem), the Serbian Democratic Party, and the Croatian Democratic Union. The daily says the leaders of these parties "increasingly frequently appear in their national colours."

The daily says that the leaders of the Moslems and Croatian parties "no longer hide their true face" and lead a policy which is "directed exclusively from Zagreb," while, on the other hand, "the leadership of the Serbian Democratic Party is determined that if there is no Yugoslavia, or at least a truncated one, the Serbian parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina will not remain in the so-called independent Bosnia-Herzegovina," the daily reports.

Leaders Accused of Working for 'Disintegration'

*LD1608172691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1625 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] Sarajevo, August 16 (TANJUG)—The Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia for the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina today accused the leaders of the Yugoslav republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia of "working together, out of practical reasons, on the disintegration of Yugoslavia."

The leaders of these three republics now seem to disagree only on how to divide the country, the Alliance representatives told a press conference today.

The Bosnia-Herzegovina reformists warned that the leaders of these three republics would sacrifice the lives of several thousand citizens of Yugoslavia for ironing out these differences.

The reformists, members of the party founded at the initiative of Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, assessed that the leaders of these three republics had driven the citizens of Yugoslavia into poverty and war by abusing their national sentiments.

Macedonia

Daily Notes Calls on Independence Vote

*LD1608123591 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1007 GMT 16 Aug 91*

[Text] Skopje, August 16 (TANJUG)—With the approach of September 8, when the citizens of Macedonia will vote at a referendum for or against a "sovereign and independent Macedonia with the right to join a future alliance of sovereign states of Yugoslavia," the public is increasingly swamped with "appeals" to abstain

from voting at the referendum along with calls of political parties and the parliament to vote "for," as the daily NOVA MAKEDONIJA says today.

These appeals are identical to the official policy of the current Serbian leadership and the Serbian press, as NOVA MAKEDONIJA sets out.

There is a growing number of those who care for Yugoslavia and the fate of the Macedonian people and are spreading fear among the people that, if they vote "for", their fate would be sealed.

Two "pro-Serbian" and "pro-military" parties—the party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia and the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia—are voicing intimidating warnings to the Macedonian citizens and their right to freely express their will, as the daily says.

The "appeals" bristle with words such as "peace," "Yugoslavia," "democratic," and "federative." They are based on the official policy of the Serbian leadership and reject any other alternative about the country's political future.

Everything which is not in line with their strategy on Yugoslavia is viewed as hostile, including the referendum, as NOVA MAKEDONIJA concludes.